CUL-H00399-99-G9492

THE

# UTTA REVIEW

*n Illustrated Monthly*

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XLI

99

OCTOBER—DECEMBER

1931

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
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| *Third Series (Monthly)* | | ... | *1921* |

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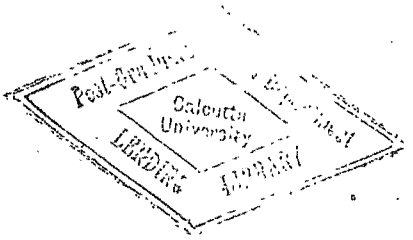


# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

## OCTOBER, 1931

### INDIA'S INDUSTRIES—FACTS AND DREAMS[1]

India is in the throes of an unprecedented economic depression which has affected almost all the countries of the world. Countries like India which are predominantly agricultural, have been hit harder, due to the fact that there has been a far greater fall in prices of agricultural commodities as compared with manufactured articles. The financial difficulty created in India due to this phenomenal fall in prices may be described almost as a national emergency and the frightful effects of such a situation should set every one thinking with a view to find out ways and means of alleviating the distress. The present world crisis is a crisis not of decreased production or of depleted human skill but a crisis of paradoxical superabundance. Instead of being considered as a blessing to the world which it should be, large-sized production is causing great embarrassments. In India the prices of agricultural commodities have fallen so low that in many cases the yield to the cultivator is insufficient to meet even the land revenue charges, what to talk of making any profit?

The question naturally arises in one's mind: What can India do to improve her position. As is well known, about

[1] An address delivered before the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on 16th June, 1931.

27 millions of the people in India are dependent on agriculture for their living. The addition of about 3 million people during the last decade has further increased the pressure on land. The decay of the village industries has also been responsible for throwing more and more people on to the land. The Hindu law of inheritance is also leading to fragmentation of land to such an alarming extent that holdings are becomimg fast uneconomic. An increasing pressure of the people on the yield from agriculture which has been very precarious, depending as it does, greatly on a well-regulated rainfall, has reduced the average income. This has caused a great economic loss not only to India but also to other countries of the world, in as much as the former has been unable to purchase a large quantity of the manufactured products of the latter. The problem of finding an outlet for the growing population of the country is therefore one of the most pressing at the present time. While in India 73% of the population is dependent on agriculture and 18% on industry, transport and trade, similar figures for England are 8 and 71% for U. S. A., 32 and 50% for Germany, 34 and 51% and for France 40 and 45%. The excessive number of persons depending on land in India has impeded the progress of agriculture itself, and the question of uneconomic holdings is not likely to be solved unless the development of industries absorbs a large proportion of the agricultural population. A vigorous attempt should therefore be made for developing within the country, various industries—big and small.

The development of big industries is designed to decrease the pressure of population on land by withdrawing the people from the villages and employing them with advantage in industries. The development of small village industries—independent and supplementary—has been suggested in order to solve to a certain extent the problem of both unemployment as well as under-employment. It is well known that the average cultivators have no work to do on the fields for a period varying from four to seven months a year. It would be of immense

national benefit if some work could be found for the people during this idle period. It is also imperative that such supplementary occupation should be suggested as can be carried on easily in the villages. There is no doubt, despite the ridicule poured on it, that hand-spinning offers an immediate practicable and permanent solution of the problem of problems that confronts India, *viz.*, enforced idleness, for nearly six months in a year, of the overwhelming majority of India's population owing to the lack of suitable supplementary occupation and the chronic starvation of the masses that results therefrom. The people in the cities do not have a correct idea of the incredible poverty of the masses to whom a small addition of even one rupee per month which is equivalent to 20% of their annual average income, would be very welcome, as it would keep them from starvation and would give them a better standard of living.

The larger problem of unemployment is still left to be dealt with and this can be done by absorbing more and more people by developing industries, both in cities and villages.

I might review here in brief the reasons why India to-day is an industrially backward country. Her present deplorable position in the sphere of industries, it cannot be gainsaid, is due to the lack of a definite and accepted industrial policy by the Government in the past. The Government of India clung too long to the tradition of *laissez faire* in industrial matters while several other nations made enormous progress in developing industries. These countries have been able to achieve much due to the system of State-aid and encouragement of industries by their respective Governments, and they have taken full advantage of the policy of the free trade to which India was subjected, by purchasing raw materials from India and flooding her markets with their manufactured goods. The position has been that India has been exploited, without being armed and equipped to offer a resistance and without being protected by any tariff walls. It was only the outbreak of the war that drew the attention of the Government to the extent of India's dependence on foreign

countries for the supply of many of the necessaries of life. In the Dispatch to the Secretary of State in November, 1915, Lord Hardinge's Government observed that " after the war India will consider itself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country." The Report on the Constitutional Reforms also observed that " on all grounds, a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country ; in order to provide an outlet for the energies for her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or a few overstocked professions. " This led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission which reported that " India is a country, rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities but poor in manufacturing accomplishments." After persistent demand by the manufacturers, politicians and the public for adopting a policy of State-aid to Indian industries, the Fiscal Commission was appointed. The Government accepted as a policy of protection of Indian industries but qualified it by a special adjective " discriminating " which serves to show their hesitation in subscribing to a policy of protection adopted and worked with success by the various civilised nations of the world, including Great Britain. To sum up, it may be said that even after the war the efforts that have been made by the Government in the direction of the development of industries can only be described correctly as spasmodic and half-hearted. The currency and exchange policy of the Government and the prevalent high bank rate, have also crippled the Indian industries to no mean extent. It is true, a few industries have received a measure of protection after an enquiry by the Tariff Board, but it is necessary to mention here that the Government do not appear to have understood or at any rate given effect to, the objects underlying the grant of protection to industries. Protection has

not been given on the same scale and with the same generosity as was given by the Governments of the United States, Germany, etc., when protection was first adopted by them. India is in the same inevitable stage of transition from the agricultural and extractive stage to the manufacturing stage, and requires the help of protective duties for furthering and easing the period of transition. If the giant American steel industry required protection even after its firm establishment before 1900, how much greater is the force of such an argument when applied to the present condition of young industries in India?

The time is fast approaching when almost all nations of the world are desirous of being self-sufficient as far as the necessaries of life are concerned; India should also have a similar aim, but in view of the fact that most of the countries of the world have already established their industries by various kinds of help from the States, India will have to take extra strong measures, for developing her industries by offering them full-fledged protection, bounties or subsidies as may be necessary in each case as otherwise the established industries located in other parts of the world will not permit them to stand competition with them. There is no dispute, now at any rate, in regard to the fact that a protectionist policy is necessary for India, if she is desirous of having industrial autonomy. It is equally essential that the State will have to take a very keen and sympathetic interest in the development of industries like the Governments of Japan, Germany and other countries. The case of Japan is very interesting. In 1872 India was industrially far ahead of Japan. But to-day India stands far behind Japan which ranks amongst the premier industrial countries of the world. The Japanese themselves admit that this great progress of the manufacturing industry should be credited chiefly to the protective and encouraging policy of their Government.

*Is present period opportune for industrial development in India?*—But the question may be asked and very pertinently, whether the present period when production has far outstripped

consumption, which has led to the present economic crisis all over the world, is the opportune period for a vast country like India to expand and develop her industrial machinery. My reply to this would be that if India is to give up all ideas of ambition and aspiration of ranking as one of the industrially developed countries of the world, out of considerateness of the interests of the other manufacturing nations that have built up their industries after a period of careful nursing and protection of their industries by their Governments, she will have to remain as a mere cypher as an industrial nation. In the past, the State in India can hardly be said to have rendered any effective help, towards the development of industries. Now at any rate, when the Government have appreciated the necessity of developing the industries of India, they ought not to wait any longer, for as time goes the task of developing the industries will present greater difficulties. Apart, however, from India's ambition and aspiration for being ranked as one of the most industrially advanced countries of the world, I believe that when all the issues of this question are carefully scrutinised and properly understood, it will be found that a higher level of industrial activities in India is not only not incompatible with the interests of the manufacturing countries of the world but is apt to prove of considerable benefit to them. If the prosperity of India increases, the standard of living of the masses will be appreciably raised. With the growth in the purchasing power of India, her wants must necessarily grow. As we can see in the case of the budget of the people of different classes, while income increases by arithmetical progression the want for luxuries may be said to increase by geometrical progression. It follows therefore that in India of the future when the masses will have a higher standard of living, the consumption of luxuries is bound to grow apace. In the plan of industrial renaissance that I have in mind, India is to be self-sufficient in regard to the production of various necessaries of life, like food, clothing, etc., and of such articles as are needed in

the interests of national safety. With her growing prosperity India is sure to make larger and larger demands on foreign countries in respect of luxury goods, and the demand for these luxury goods from foreign countries is bound to give a fillip to the industries of the world. We can see therefore that even from the international point of view, the development of industries of India is to be desired and welcome.

*Present position of Indian industries.*—A glance at the foreign trade of India will show that we export several articles in the raw stage and import articles which are mostly manufactured. With the abundance of raw materials, both agricultural and mineral, with the great natural facilities for power and transport, with a vast home market to absorb all our manufactures, we can effectively cut down the list of imported manufactured articles and of exported raw materials, if only the Government show their preparedness to help actually the Indian industrialists by giving necessary protection to their industries, by providing adequate facilities in banking, technical education, primary education, etc., the lack of the provision of which is conspicuous to-day. There are various industries which we can easily develop. We can eliminate, for instance, the import of salt which amounted to Rs. 117 crores in 1930-31, cotton piecegoods the value of the imports of which amounted to Rs. 59 crores in 1929-30 and Rs. 25 crores in 1930-31. We can develop the manufacture of glass and glassware and reduce our dependence on foreign countries. We can retain the raw hides in the country and tan them here. We can manufacture several other small articles for which we are to depend on other countries, *e.g.*, paper, pottery, soaps, boots and shoes. The mention of this last article—boots and shoes—the import of which amounted to Rs. 88 lakhs in the year 1930-31, furnishes a very striking instance of what the industries of a country can achieve if they have the support of the Government. Japan which sent boots and shoes to India worth Rs. 3 lakhs in 1928-29 sent boots and shoes worth Rs. 29 lakhs in 1929-30 and Rs. 67 lakhs in

1930-31, the quantity having increased from 5 lakh pairs in 1928-29 to one crore pairs in 1930-31. An increase in her export of boots and shoes to India to the extent of 2200 per cent. within the course of two years is a matter which should excite our admiration!

If the Government of India shakes off its attitude of indifference towards the fate of industries, and adopts a bold and courageous policy like Japan, Belgium, Germany, etc., of industrialising the country, I am hopeful that we can create a record of industrial development within a short period, as India is no less advantageously situated in regard to the possibilities and potentialities of industrial development. With this change in the attitude of the Government towards industries, capital will not remain shy and industrial-mindedness will be created amongst the people who will be induced to invest their money in industrial enterprises instead of locking them up in gilt-edged securities and landed properties, as a result of the confidence created in their mind. For a rapid industrialisation of the country, it is absolutely essential that necessary banking facilities which are to-day unavailable to the people of the country, should also be provided. At present the people do not get any financial facilities for starting industries. The Imperial Bank of India is precluded from advancing money for a period of more than six months. There are no large-sized indigenous joint-stock banks which can finance industries. The Exchange Banks confine their attention only to foreign trade. There is no industrial bank to which the people could turn for assistance. In addition to this lamentable drawback in regard to banking facilities, there is no adequate provision for primary education, technical education, and scientific research. For making labour more efficient it is essential that they should have the benefit of primary education. It is sad to think that in spite of the rule of over a century and a half of the British Nation over India, no provision has yet been made for compulsory primary education for the people on the ground of want of finances. The State

should also harness the aid of scientific research for promoting industrial development. This can be done by the establishment of a research institute on the lines of institutes of Western countries under the guidance of experts. This expenditure by the Government would be more than repaid by the benefits that would result to industry therefrom. I hope and trust that these factors which militate against the rapid industrial development of India will be removed before long. I also trust that adequate banking facilities will be provided to the people by the establishment of industrial and Land Mortgage Banks and by creating conditions favourable to the growth and development of Indian Joint Stock Banks. It is difficult to achieve industrial autonomy without banking autonomy and I hope that the Government will realise the dependence of industries on financial facilities and, in appreciation of this fact, will do all in their power to promote and foster the development of banking in India.

The various Departments of Industries which would be very useful for the development of small village industries have been practically starved in the past for want of funds. Only recently the Director of Industries, Bombay, complained of lack of money for its industrial activities and for encouraging existing nascent industries. If these Departments are to serve the purpose for which they are established, larger funds ought to be placed at their disposal. State-aid to Industries Act should be so amended as to permit the accumulation of unspent funds for the development of industry.

Unless full-fledged protection is granted to young national industries capable of developing and unless the length of time for protection to be allowed is fairly long, I am afraid it will be difficult to draw fresh capital, so necessary for creating internal competition in order to counteract the probable, but much made of evil in this country, of the resultant burden on the consumers. I need hardly discuss here the merits and demerits of a policy of protection for India as I feel sure that it has come to be

recognised that a protective duty continued for a reasonable time will be the least inconvenient method in which a nation can tax itself for the experiment in neutralising a foreign industry, in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country.

I feel certain that if a bold and courageous policy of State-aid and encouragement to industries is followed by the Government, after chalking out a careful programme, India will be able to take, within a generation or two, its proper place amongst the highly industrialised nations of the world.

M. P. GANDHI

# BANKS IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL FINANCING

## PART II

## VI

The industrial progress of a country depends to a great extent upon the footing she can obtain in the markets of the world. The German banks were conscious of this and they paid accordingly a good deal of attention to the development of Germany's economic relations with other countries. Before the credit banks were started the German industrial and commercial interests in foreign and especially overseas countries had to fall back almost exclusively upon the intermediary of English and French institutions. The German banks now devoted themselves to fostering the overseas business of their country. They sought to attain this end by opening branches in foreign countries, by establishing alliances with foreign banking firms and sometimes by founding affiliated foreign banks.

In this connection it will be interesting to note the important part played by the German banks in the export of capital to foreign countries. The banks furnished financial support to foreign countries in two ways chiefly, *viz.*, by means of loans to foreign governments and investments in foreign business undertakings. The banks usually working in the form of syndicates rendered considerable financial assistance to several foreign Governments such as Italy, Turkey, China, Japan, Peru, Chile, etc. The banks, often working together, also participated in many foreign undertakings such as railways, mining and electrical projects. The enormous influence acquired in this way by the German banks abroad has been often utilised for securing orders for their associated firms. Whenever they have raised loans for foreign public bodies or invested in foreign

enterprises, they have insisted as a condition of their financial assistance, that the business must be placed in German hands. In several cases express stipulations to this effect were made. The Dresdner Bank as promoter of Victoria Falls Company obtained orders for German electrical works ; the rails for the Baghdad railway which was promoted by the Deutsche Bank were to some extent ordered from the German Steel Works Union; and conditions were attached to the Chinese railway loans of 1887 and 1909-10 that the materials should be purchased from Germany.[1] Thus we find that German banks help their associated industries indirectly to a very great extent because they make it a condition of their finding the capital required that the bulk of the orders should be placed in the hands of their associated companies. Banks seldom forget to insist on the *quid pro quo* and are thus able to secure business for their connected firms whenever they rendered financial support abroad. Thus with German we find finance, trade and industry go hand in hand. "They have a common understanding and a strong sense of solidarity."[2]

## VII

A study of the German methods of industrial financing will remain incomplete without reference to the development of a new method in the first decade of the present century. We have already pointed out in the foregoing analysis how dependent the German firms were upon the banks for the provision of permanent capital. A new method developed which rendered the industries far less dependent upon the banks for this purpose. Some industrial undertakings began to establish "financial companies." This development took place chiefly in the case of the great electric groups and of some companies engaged in the construction of light railways. These concerns promoted

[1] Whale, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104. See also Prof. Foxwell, Papers on Current Finance.

[2] Article by Mr. Lawson in Banker's Magazine, July, 1906, p. 21.

electricity supply and railway undertakings to be their own customers. The typical method by which the financial companies raised their capital was by the sale of debentures. The chief functions of these subsidiary companies were promotion and investment. They also kept current accounts for the companies connected with them and advanced loans on their shares. The establishment of these financial companies rendered the position of industrial undertaking stronger *vis á vis* the banks because they were no longer dependent on them for the supply of long-term capital.

The business of credit banks in the field of industrial financing was further invaded by the promotion of what has been called "Banken für branchen." These were special banks which had for their sole object the financing of the whole of a particular trade. Examples of such banks are to be found in the Corn Credit Company, Timber Trade Bank and the Sugar Credit Bank. These banks possess great advantages arising out of their specialised knowledge of the particular trades. Some of them, as the Sugar Credit Bank, have been indeed highly successful. But great risks often attend these banks. They are unable to diversify the credit risks and their fortune is closely bound up with the prosperity of the particular trade in which they are interested. These banks are to suffer from loss of public confidence in the event of these trades being involved in difficulties. Thus the Holzwirtschaft Bank was obliged to write down its capital.[1]

Besides these "trade banks," some private banking firms have recently come to occupy a prominent position in industrial financing. They have been responsible for financing a number of industries, such as the artificial silk, the brewing and porcelain industries. The rise of the private banks has probably been due to a relatively more cautious and conservative policy of big joint-stock banks.

[1] Whale, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245, 307.

## VIII

The problem of financing larger industrial enterprises was solved in this way in Germany, thanks to the activities of the big credit banks. But the problem of financing small and medium-sized concerns has not been solved so easily. The big credit banks have not attended to their needs. Their neglect of such types of industry has made them the subject of severe criticisms. They have even been accused of favouring the annihilation of smaller enterprises in the interests of the greater monopolies. In recent times an attempt is being made to solve the problem of financing smaller industries by establishing what has been called by Dr. Pabst "Industrieschaften." The idea of the German "Landschaft" has been extended to the field of small industries and handicrafts. There is as yet only one such institution, *viz.*, the Soxen Landespfand brief-Anstalt, having a capital of 1 million R. M supplied by the State. It is empowered to issue industrial mortgage bonds to the extent of 50 million R.M. It has already issued 6 % and 7 % dollar bonds as well as 8 % gold mortgage bonds.[1]

## IX

The foregoing analysis of German banking makes it abundantly clear that it differs a great deal from banking as practised and understood in England. The English banks are, so to speak, specialised institutions. They are primarily banks of deposit and many of the functions which the German banks have combined with short-loan banking are considered to be wholly outside their sphere. These branches of finance are relegated to other special firms in England. Thus we find that the German banks perform most of the functions properly belonging in

[1] Willis and Beckhart, *op. cit.*, p. 683. Dr. Riesser points out in this connection that though the German credit banks have hitherto done little for the craftsmen and small manufacturers yet in some cases they have been closely connected with Co-operative Credit Societies as the Dresdner Bank.

England to merchant bankers, stock, bill and exchange brokers, trust, financial and promoting companies. A study of the balance sheets of the German banks will reveal the diverse lines of business which they carry on. It seems incredible to one, schooled in the simple traditions of British banking, how the banks are able to carry on such various lines of business appearing to be extremely risky and speculative. We shall find from the balance sheets that there are associated with the banks a large number of industrial enterprises to whom they have provided permanent capital; we shall find that they have participated in the flotations of big loans of home and foreign Governments and of debentures of railway and other companies, foreign and indigenous; we shall also find that they have introduced shares on the stock exchange, granted in some cases large mortgage loans extending for 50 years and extended their activities throughout the country and even across the frontiers.

The diversified activities of the German banks and their intimate alliances with trade and industry involve them in heavy credit engagements as well as in investments which do not represent readily realisable assets. The union of short-term banking with the provision of long-term capital has made them the target of severe criticisms. In their earlier years the banks were dubbed "stock-jobbing concerns of a questionable character" and were accused of promoting a host of unsound and speculative concerns, endangering not only their own property but also the property entrusted to them.[1] In the beginning of the present century there was a widespread feeling that the deposits of the public in the big credit banks should be safeguarded by legislation.

In some cases, the banks have undoubtedly incurred severe losses. But these were principally due to their own errors and hazardous ventures. In granting credits the principle of distributing the risks was generally disregarded. When a bank gives too much credit to one industry or even one branch of it,

[1] Adolf Wagner.

and when that single industry or establishment goes wrong, the result is necessarily disastrous. Thus the failure of the Leipziger Bank and of the Dresdner Kreditanstalt was due to the extension of excessive credit to single companies. The larger banks often suffered heavy losses in connection with the development of some real estate companies, but their solvency was never impaired.

Generally speaking, the enormous amount of share capital and reserves of the big credit banks, the solidarity of interest and the efficient control exercised by the authorities have made it almost impossible that they will be shaken by any catastrophe. We have already pointed out that though they make both short and long loans, they do not as a rule use their short-term deposits for the long-term investments. They have issued shares and debentures for the purpose of raising the long-term credits. Here also we find that their policy has never been to hold securities permanently on their own account. They are fully alive to the risks of "locking up for a considerable time sums too large in proportion to the means and business of the company by purchasing or lending on securities."[1] As a matter of fact the mere holding of securities has not played a very large part in the business of the German banks. Even before the war, the proportion of securities and syndicate participations to total assets was not at all large. The following table indicates the position from 1907 to 1913:

*Securities (including syndicate participations and bank participations) as percentage of total assets.*[2]

| | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average for Nine Berlin Banks. | 10·8 | 11·0 | 9·3 | 12·4 | 12·0 | 13·1 | 13·2 |

The investment percentage may be made clearer by pointing out that the figures include holding of own securities, syndicate participations and bank participations; and if we

[1] See Art. 40 of the Statute of the Discorte Bank.

[2] P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*

exclude the last item the average for 1913 becomes only 9·7. This clearly shows that the banks are not essentially investment companies, as is often supposed. In the case of many British banks we shall find that the percentage is the same and even higher. But the difference is that the investments of English joint-stock banks consist wholly of "gilt-edged securities,"—a description inapplicable to the securities held by the German banks. Dr. Riesser points out that the banks use only a third part of their capital and reserves in shares and syndicates. "Through a skilful management this one-third of the capital is always invested, realised and re-invested in various shares,"[1] Besides as we have already pointed out, whenever the risks of immobilising their funds have seemed very great, they have departed from their traditional methods of participation and helped to establish subsidiary companies either in conjunction with industrialists or foreign capitalists. In recent times, the policy of the German banks has been viewed far more sympathetically. Opinion is gradually becoming stronger that they are a legitimate type of financial institutions. Their history shows that it is possible for banks to play a large part in industrial financing without immobilising their funds. It has been frankly recognised that "without the vigour and daring initiative of the banks, the present proud edifice of German national economy could not have been erected in so short a time."[2] The position was well summed up by the German Banking Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Havenstein in the following words: "The disadvantages of the German banking system were not so deeply rooted as to render it necessary to set fixed limits by way of legislation, limits which were likely to put a restraint on that freedom of movement which is after all indispensable to living forces."

[1] See Dr. Nimenyi's Memorandum, *op. cit.*

[2] "Deutsch. Oeoknomist" quoted by Mr. Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

If the German banks "live under this system of the blending of functions and the confusion of risks," it is neither because they have preferred it to others nor because they have considered it more suited to the aims of national economy. It is because they could not be otherwise. They are so to speak "daughters of necessity"[1]—a product of numerous historical circumstances. The economic situation in Germany was different from England, France and other old capitalist countries. In England the process of industrialisation was spread over a pretty long period and there was a mass of dormant capital seeking investment. Industry had merely to ask for it for employment. But in the case of Germany, her industrial revolution has marched more rapidly than the formation of capital. The banks of the country had therefore to devote themselves to the creation and concentration of capital. The close relations between banks and industry were an inevitable outcome of the peculiar conditions of the country. The banks were obliged to concentrate their activities almost wholly upon industry. They could not exert any influence upon agriculture because of the Landschaften. They could not engage in mortgage credit transactions on account of the mortgage banks. They were shut out from small trading and commercial enterprises because of the rapid development of co-operative societies. The credit banks therefore took upon themselves the task of financing the industries. It should also be noted in this connection that if the joint-stock banks had in the beginning devoted themselves solely to deposit operations, they would not have been able to carry on business. In those days Germany consisted of poor states where moneys on deposit had little scope for circulation. They were thus born as banks for industry. Theoretically speaking the absolute segregation of deposit banks from investment banks is desirable and was practically complete in England before the war. The peculiar circumstances of the

1. Henri Hauser, Germany's Commercial Grip of the World.

country have obliged the banks of Germany to undertake a medley of financial operations. This fusion of the functions of commercial banking and investment banking of which Germany offers the best example is typical of all continental banking. Integration of financial operations, as opposed to specialisation, is the distinguishing feature not only of German but of continental banks in general. A study of their balance-sheets will show that their transactions cover all possible lines of finances: agricultural and industrial finance, loans for governments and local bodies, transactions on the stock exchange, in foreign exchange, participation in syndicates, etc. The business lines, for example, of the Hungarian General Credit Bank of Budapest include current account and deposits, securities foreign exchange, credits, discounts, mortgages as well as loans for stages, provinces, municipalities and railways. Besides, the bank is financially interested in a number of industrial undertakings such as mines and brick factories, sugar refineries, flour mills and provision undertakings, machine factories and textile undertakings. The great commercial banks of Italy are also modelled on the German plan and devote much of their activity to the promotion of industrial enterprises. The Banca Commerciale Italiana, the Banca di Roma and Credito Italiano assist in the flotation of new companies for whom they collect and subscribe the capital issues and associate themselves with their protégés to a considerable extent in financing their development. In addition to their industrial functions they carry on the ordinary functions of deposit and discount bankers. The commercial banks of Sweden, which in their earlier years dealt in short-loan banking are fast developing along the lines of 'mixed' banking and are financing industry to an increasing extent. The same fusion of diverse functions is evident even in the case of the banks of Turkey. The Ottoman Bank which has the privilege of note-issue is interested in a number of undertakings such as mines, docks, railways, tramways, light and gas companies. The Industrial Mining Bank which undertakes all sorts of commercial

transactions owns many factories in Constantinople and in the provinces.[1]

XI

It has been shown in the preceding pages how the German banks originally resembling investment trust companies and considering pure banking business as a mere side-line, gradually evolved themselves into deposit banks. When they became deposit banks, they did not, however, abandon their old preference for investment banking. Thenceforward they became "mixed" banks, combining in the same hands various financial operations. In the beginning the titles that were applied to them were 'Anlage bank' (*i.e.*, investment bank) and 'Effektenbank' (stock and share bank). But when their character changed, a change also became necessary in their title. From that time onward they have come to be called 'credit banks' a label which suits them better in view of their altered status. The evolution of the German banks, however, did not stop at that stage. Of recent years the banks are developing along new lines. The German system is in fact becoming different from that in many other continental countries and is approximating more and more to the English system of deposit banking in the pre-war days. [2]

A revolution has been slowly but steadily taking place in the business of the German credit banks since the end of the Great War. They are growing more and more cautious. They are reluctant to tie up their funds for long periods and are concentrating far more on regular banking business than formerly. No doubt the years 1926 and 1927 were marked by a revival of the typical transactions of German banking in connection with the stock exchange, the issue of securities, loans against the deposit of shares and so on. But if we compare the figures for 1913, we find that the relative financial importance of this part of their business was declining. The decrease in the relative size of long-term investments as shown by the proportion of own securities

1 The "Times Trading and Engineering Supplement," Banking No., June 28, 1930.
2 The "Economist," March 1, 1930.

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and syndicate participation to total assets is very striking. Even before the war it will be a mistake to suppose that investments occupied a large share of their business. We have already quoted Dr. Riesser to show that the banks "locked up" only a third part of their capital and reserves in shares and syndicates. The average percentage of securities[1] to total assets in the case of nine Berlin banks from 1907 to 1913 is shown by the following table :

| | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average of 9 Berlin banks | 10·3 | 11·0 | 9·3 | 12·4 | 12·0 | 13·1 | 13·2 |

In the post-war years the percentage has been steadily declining. The banks are still taking over blocks of shares and bonds and are financing long-term contracts ; but this business has ceased to be as important as it was before. Figures can be given to show how marked a decline has taken place in their security holdings.

The average percentage of securities to total assets in the case of eight Berlin banks during the years 1914 to 1918 was as follows :—

| | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Eight Berlin banks | 13·0 | 13·9 | 11·8 | 9·1 | 6·6 | 6·2 |

The relative insignificance of the securities business is explained by the fact that the opportunities for dealing in or for creation of securities were limited by war-time regulations of the stock market. The banks, during this period, became purely deposit banks, lending to public authorities.

The decline in the size of securities and syndicate participations continued, indicating the revolution in the business of the credit banks. With the end of the war and after stabilisation when normal conditions were restored, we find the banks coming more and more under the category of pure deposit banks.

[1] Including syndicate and bank participations.

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The following table speaks for itself :—

*Securities as percentage of Total Assets.*

| | 1919 | 1920 | 1921 | 1922 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average for 8 Berlin banks | 2·6 | 2·3 | 1·7 | 0·23 |

*31 December.*

| | 1924 | 1925 | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 [1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average for 7 Berlin banks | 6·7 | 5·0 | 4·3 | 4·2 | 3·9 |

The real significance of the declining percentage lies in the fact that the German banks are turning into deposit banks in the English and American sense of the word. Even before the war the holdings of securities, syndicate investments, and participations in other banks were never very large. But at the present time the proportions of long-term investments have fallen still lower. The importance of this part of their business is gradually receding to the background. But more must not be read into the figures given above than is intended here. For we have seen that the banks have not been indifferent and inactive when opportunities have come, as for example in 1926 and 1927. Indeed the recovery of German Industry from the catastrophic depression of 1925-26 would have been difficult but for the co-operation of the banks with industry. Besides, it may be that the low proportion of shares and syndicates is due to the fact that these are being quickly passed over to the investing public. But it has to be acknowledged that the post-war German banks are tending to develop very much along the lines of the pre-war English deposit banks. This is evident not simply from the comparative decline in the securities business but also in the rapid increase in deposits and a fall in capital and reserves. The following table shows that there has been a significant decline in the proportion of capital and reserves to

[1] The tables are based upon data given by Mr. P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 202, 223, 275.

liabilities while the percentage of deposits and current account balances is comparatively rising :[1]

*Capital and Reserves as Percentage of Total Liabilities.*

| | 1913 | 1927 | 1928 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Average for Eight Berlin banks | 19·0 | 8·6 [2] | 7·0 [3] |

*Deposits and Current Account Balances as Percentage of Total Liabilities.*

| | 1913 | 1927 | 1928 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Average for Eight Berlin banks | 62·1 | 85·1 [2] | 86·1 [3] |

The table given below brings out the fact that in the case of the principal German banks there has been a marked decline in the proportion of capital and reserves to liabilities. The latter are seen to have risen by 40 per cent. while the former are little more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the pre-war figures.[4]

*In millions of R. M.*

| Principal Banks | 1913 | 1926 | 1927 | 1929 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Capital and Reserves | 2,338 | 763 | 813 | 838 |
| Acceptances | 1,850 | 350 | 435 | 453 |
| Creditors (mainly depositors). | 6,759 | 6,528 | 8,128 | 10,399 |

In the beginning it appeared as though the German banks were going to develop into two distinct classes of financial institutions : investment banks and deposit banks. But we have

[1] P. B. Whale, *op. cit.*, p. 276.
[2] For seven banks.
[3] For seven banks.
[4] Banking Supplements.

seen this did not happen. There took place a remarkable fusion of the functions of investment and deposit banking in the same hands. Integration, as distinct from specialisation of functions, became the characteristic of German banks as well as that of the other continental banks. But once again, we find a change is taking place in the status of the so-called "mixed" banks of Germany. The recent tendency has been for them to depart more and more from the pre-war practice of combining the functions of commercial banking with those of investment banking in all its aspects. They are now conforming more closely to the recognised canons of commercial banking as adopted in England. The post-war German banks are becoming akin to the pre-war deposit banks of England.

SAROJ KUMAR BASU

(*Concluded.*)

# MAETERLINCK'S SYMBOLISM

The Earth Spirit in Goethe's *Faust* claims to weave God's garment at the roaring loom of Time, and the philosopher of *Sartor Resartus* explicitly states, "The universe is but one vast symbol of God; nay if thou wilt have it, what is man himself but a symbol of God; is not all that he does symbolical; a revelation to sense of the mystic god-given force that is in him...?" Viewed from this standpoint of Goethe and Carlyle, everything that exists or is brought into existence is a symbol. A blade of grass under our feet, no less than the mightiest star in the heavens, is a symbol, and every work of art has a symbolical story behind it. A symbol thus comes to be anything that bears testimony to the existence of a force which is related to it by a causal relation. Every creative process, therefore, involves symbolisation and symbolism. This may be described as the natural and inevitable symbolism of things as contrasted with conventional symbolism wherein we agree to suggest one thing by another, either arbitrarily, as must have been the case when things and actions were first named, or on the strength of some analogous qualities or of ideas associated with the latter thing (the symbol) in fact or thought, as when we suggest hope by the anchor, victory by the palm branch, purity by the white colour and death or old age by winter. It is obvious that literary creation involves both natural and conventional symbolism; natural, inasmuch as every literary piece stands as a token or proof of the creative power of the author; and conventional, inasmuch as the component ideas of a literary piece have to be expressed by means of words which mere convention has accepted as symbols for those ideas. Naming is but symbolising and every language is only a series of symbols which, at the beginning, were arbitrarily invented or selected, what we call stems and roots, prefixes and suffixes,

being, ultimately, mere symbolical fixtures. As, however, this conventional symbolism of language is an inevitable factor of all literature exactly as that other symbolism which every creation or existence implies, something more is undoubtedly meant when we speak of the symbolist movement in literature. This additional element may be a symbolism of idea, the whole literary piece implying something different from but parallel to what is conveyed by the ordinary, conventional significance of the language of the piece. This is allegory. We may, therefore, look for an element of allegory in symbolist literature. But it has been held that allegory and symbolism are antagonistic to each other; if allegory comes in, symbolism goes out, because allegory states things that are definite and fixed, while 'no symbol tells all its meaning to any generation' (W. B. Yeats: *Symbolism in Painting*). This denial to allegory of all claims to symbolism seems to be due to a prejudice against the mere intellect; for though there will always be symbols whose suggestiveness no generation will ever exhaust, it would be going against the testimony of language itself to look upon allegory as non-symbolical. The truth might be summed up in the statement 'all allegory is symbolism, but all symbolism is not allegory.' An allegory is a pre-eminently intellectual thing appealing mainly to the intellect; but there is one form of symbolism which is pre-eminently emotional, appealing mainly to the emotions. This leads to Yeats' own division of symbolism into two kinds or forms, emotional and intellectual. But as it is not possible to separate the intellect and the emotions into two sealed compartments, the two kinds of symbolism merge into each other: allegory may, and generally does, involve emotional symbolism; so also emotional symbolism may, and generally does, involve intellectual symbolism; only, it is to be repeated, the intellect rules one kind, the emotions rule the other. This accounts for the fact that the work of accredited symbolists, specially the French symbolists of the 19th century, has little in common with the work of accredited allegorists

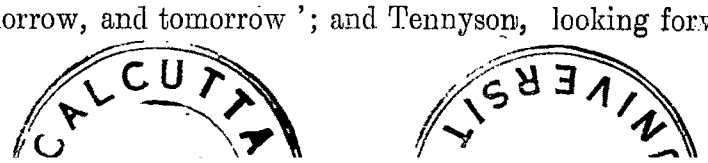
like Spenser and Bunyan. An allegory of the type of Bunyan's is to some extent like a sum of simple equation where, if the value of the symbols is once detected, the entire thing becomes clear; there remains little that is vague or indefinite; every line is distinctly drawn and every figure fully formed, so that the reader's mind has to travel along paths already laid out for it. Detailed description is the *modus operandi* of these allegorists. The symbolism of the 19th century French symbolists, on the other hand, was prompted by a deep aversion to similar detailed description in vogue amongst a group of writers with whom "form aimed above all things at being precise, at saying rather than suggesting, at saying what they had to say so completely that nothing remained over, which it might be the business of the reader to divine. And so they...expressed, finally, a certain aspect of the world; and some of them...carried style to a point beyond which the style that says, rather than suggests, cannot go" (Arthur Symons: *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, pp. 5, 6). The central principle of poetic creation with these symbolists was that "to name is to destroy, to suggest is to create" (*Ibid*, p. 128). It is not that they hated form, they cared only too much for it and carried or tried to carry it to perfection, not in the direction of rhetoric and description, but in that of music and suggestion. One of the most prominent members of this artistic brotherhood gave the curious advice, "Take eloquence, and wring its neck!" and preached the doctrine of "music before everything, music still and always"; while the most fastidious of them, Stéphane Mallarmé, similarly advocated the elocutionary disappearance of the poet and condemned all details as positively injurious to pure work. "He condemns the inclusion in verse of anything but, 'for example, the horror of the forest, or the silent thunder afloat in the leaves; not the intrinsic, dense wood of the trees'" (*Ibid*, pp. 128, 129). When the French symbolists thus condemned the inclusion in verse of all details as positively injurious to pure work, they were really condemning reliance on the mere intellect and

emphasising the suggestiveness of emotions. Search after emotional suggestiveness led these symbolists to handle language in a peculiar way. Ordinarily we are in the habit of looking upon every word as a symbol representing an idea and every word in a poem or literary piece as saying something. These symbolists had no such unbounded faith in the expressive power of words as mere words. They tried to select and use their words in such a way as to bring forth a music out of them which, along with the images embodied in the words, would suggest or evoke what the writers wanted to convey. Accordingly these writers, as also the symbolists of England and Ireland, like Blake, Rossetti, Swinburne Walter de la Mare Yeats and A. E., are not to be understood in a mere literal sense. In Rossetti sometimes, as in *The House of Life*, and sometimes in Yeats, as in *The Wind Among the Reeds*, there may be an encroachment of allegory; but in a general way it may be said that the symbolism of these writers is a compound of the suggestiveness of the music of their language and the suggestiveness of their images. As the ingredients of the compound are subtle and variable by nature, thorough grasp of a symbolist poem is a comparatively difficult task. It may not mean the same thing to all persons or to the same person at all times. Thus Yeats says of his poem *The Cap and Bells*, "The poem has always meant a great deal to me, though, as is the way with a symbolic poem, it has not always meant quite the same thing." The obscurity of the symbolists is further due to the fact that symbolism generally presupposes a mystic temperament and outlook on life which serve to impart a certain metaphysical character to their ideas. Swinburne is too much intoxicated with his music to rise to mystic heights of thought; but in Blake, Rossetti, de la Mare, Yeats and A. E., as well as in the French symbolists, one invariably detects the tone of the mystic who attempts to see beyond the immediate object. In fact, symbolism would be no more than an arbitrary trick if it were not accompanied with this attempt to see beyond the immediate

object. Justification of symbolism lies in this that ordinary language and ordinary manner of expression may fail us when we deal with realities higher than objects within the reach of the grosser senses. 'Eternity can look through Time and the Godlike can manifest itself to Sense' only by means of symbols, and the higher and subtler the truth that the symbol stands for the higher the symbol becomes. 'Highest of all symbols are those wherein the Artist or Poet has risen into a Prophet, and all men can recognise a present God, and worship the same....' (*Sartor Resartus*). As symbolism is thus almost a necessary concomitant of the highest thoughts and sentiments, it must be as old as literature; it must be present, 'under one disguise or another, in every great imaginative writer' (*The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, p. 3). Yeats goes so far as to regard a 'continuous indefinable symbolism' to be 'the substance of all style.' To illustrate his point he quotes from Burns the two simple lines :

> 'The white moon is setting behind the white wave,
> And Time is setting with me, O!'

By way of comment he adds : '...these lines are perfectly symbolical. Take from them the whiteness of the moon and of the wave, whose relation to the setting of Time is too subtle for the intellect, and you take from them their beauty. But when all are together moon and wave and whiteness and setting Time and the last melancholy cry, they evoke an emotion which cannot be evoked by any other arrangement of colours and sounds and forms' (*The Symbolism of Poetry*). Thus when a great writer soars into the highest regions of imagination, he almost unconsciously tends to become symbolic, always in style, sometimes in idea as well. The language that presents Keats' aching heart and drowsy numbness or his flight on the viewless wings of poesy through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways, conveys more than its component words. Macbeth, standing like an animal at bay before the dark mystery of death, talks in symbols in the great speech beginning 'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow'; and Tennyson, looking forward to the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eternal voyage of the soul on the ocean of the hereafter, similarly talks in symbols :

> ' Sunset and evening star,
> And one clear call for me !
> And may there be no moaning of the bar,
> When I put out to sea... ! '

Symbolism, therefore, has always existed, in one form or another; what distinguishes the symbolism of the latter part of the 19th century is that it is self-conscious and the writers who have used it have developed a theory emphasising suggestion through music and image in the place of description through rhetoric and realistic detail.

Maeterlinck's first work of note, the group of poems entitled *Hot-Houses* (1889), unmistakably affiliates him for the time being to this French school of symbolists. A young man of only about twenty-five when these poems were composed, he seems to have accepted at the time the symbolist doctrine ' to name is to destroy, to suggest is to create.' It would be an act of boldness, or perhaps of rashness, to assert with regard to any one of these poems, ' This is its exact meaning.' We may only generally state that these poems speak of a fastidious, philosophic-minded youngman's *ennui* and melancholy and disgust with self and the world inspired by a desire for an indefinite ideal. They picture a weary and fevered soul labouring under the burden of passions and dreams ; a soul having within itself ' the thoughts of a princess who is sick with hunger, the listless mood of a mariner in the desert, and brazen music at the windows of men who are sick to death '; a soul ' pale with impotence, colourless and indolent,' too weak for action and pallid with tears, vainly heeding the ' weary hands that idly seek to grapple with abortive deeds.' This general sense of disgust is expressed through images widely varied but all suggesting an unwholesome languor through a combination of colour, sound and form. We come across images, for example, of a woman swooning on a day of harvest, purple bubbles of dream, faded

lilies of days unborn, blue monotony of heart, dreams blue with languor, green temptations creeping through the shadows of the mind, the dreaming of a corpse, wearied longings of eyes that cloud with their azure sighs the flooding moon within the soul. The suggestiveness of mystic images like these, along with the subtle suggestiveness of sounds,[1] constitutes the symbolism of the earliest of Maeterlinck's poetic endeavours.

What has been said of the *Hot-Houses* is also generally true of the *Fifteen Songs* which belong to the earliest period of Maeterlinck's literary career, only three of the Songs being composed after 1896. But the haunting sense of *ennui* and languor that pervades the *Hot-Houses* is absent from the Songs; here the dominant ideas seem to be those of waiting, expectation, unfulfilled hope, looking forward in an attempt to read

[1] The suggestiveness of sounds is perhaps too subtle a compound to admit of analysis; but Una Taylor's remarks in this connection may be quoted with advantage :—

"Master of the resources of his art, Maeterlinck has utilised his gift of language to the full in the achievement of perfect concord between the emotional sentiment and the sound-form of his verse. The scale of the words employed is singularly limited, but he possesses a supersensitive ear. His appreciation of the gradations of significance imparted to one and the same word by its position and rhythmical emphasis in the construction of the phrase is unrivalled. Hence no sense of repetition, reiteration or recurrence obtrudes itself upon the reader's consciousness. The limitation of his vocabulary maintains the intentional monotony of effect, while the predominant use of laggard vowel-sounds in many of the stanzas gives an additional note of languid obsession to the melody of the verse. Few poets have welded together more intimately the emotional sense with the rhythmical cadence, the *drag* in such lines as :—

Moi, j'attends un peu de réveil,
Moi, j'attends que le sommeil passe,
Moi, j'attends un peu de soleil.....
Sur mes mains que la lune glace.

The repetitions in :—

Mon âme en est triste à la fin
Elle est triste enfin d'être lasse,
Elle est lasse enfin d'être en vain,
Elle est triste et lasse à la fin...

(example of his rigid economy of words can be multiplied) convey to the full, apart from the literal meaning of the words, the vocal suggestion of the indolent disquietude that pervades the soul's long trance of shadows."

*Maurice Maeterlinck, A Critical Study*, pp. 16, 17.

the mysteries of the future. Indefinite waiting with unfulfilled hope has generated such a poignancy of feeling at least in two of the Songs that the obscurity which generally marks symbolistic poetry almost completely disappears and the Songs attain the tone of sparkling love-songs such as we might find in the cavalier lyrists of England. The two songs are those beginning

> If he one day come again
> What shall then be said?

and

> Sisters, sisters, thirty years
> I sought where he might be.

These poems of Maeterlinck may reasonably be regarded as no more than literary exercises. It is significant that these are the only poems that he ever wrote. He is pre-eminently a dramatist and essayist, not a poet in the narrow sense of the term. Prose is the medium that he chose for his dramas. And even apart from considerations of medium, the subject-matter itself of these poems, specially the poems of the *Hot-Houses*, strengthens the conjecture that they are of the nature of exercises. Every now and then, in course of these melancholy effusions, the poet cries out to the 'Lord' to grant his one desire and let fall His rain upon the fire, or to light beneath his feet the way his weary soul should pass, or to let him stray through pastures glimmering in the moon, or to have some such pity on him in his weakness and sorrow. This sort of invocation to the 'Lord' is in the manner of the devout Catholic Christian. Newman might have adopted it. But this is not the genuine manner of Maeterlinck, though of Catholic extraction with a rigorous Jesuit training behind him. Nowhere in his dramas or in his essays do we find God conceived in the orthodox fashion of a Christian theist. He has in unambiguous language expressed his repugnance to a revealed religion presupposing a God who stands in an intimate personal relation to its adherents and helps them, rewards them, or

punishes them according to their deserts. The conception of the 'barbaric heaven' and the 'monstrous hell' of the Christians appals him. As early as 1898 he describes God as 'no more than the loveliest desire of our soul' (*Wisdom and Destiny*) and in 1928 he speaks the language of a thorough-going agnostic, though recognising the existence of God. God, he says, 'is the immense, irreducible, eternal, unknown, the unknown of the unknown, the En-Sof or nothingness of nothingness, the "Who?" or the note of interrogation in the darkness and the infinite of the Zohar, the "That" of the Vedas, "the Mysterious amidst the Mysterious".....I bow before Him and am silent. The farther I push forward, the farther He withdraws His bounds. The more I reflect, the less I understand. The more I gaze, the less I see, and the less I see, the more certain am I that He exists.....' (*The Life of Space*). It is clear that the 'Lord' of the *Hot-Houses* is not the unknown God of the agnostic. Nowhere else does Maeterlinck speak of God as he speaks in these poems. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to infer that the poet here is not very serious in expressing his real convictions. He is in a rather facile mood, putting into verse, after the manner of the symbolists, ideas that come to his mind without much exertion, as one might do in academic exercises. Lastly, the prevailing tone of the poems of the *Hot-Houses*, a tone of enervating lassitude, is not the characteristic tone of Maeterlinck. Though connected with the 19th century decadents by the tie of symbolism, Maeterlinck has never been, physically or mentally, a weakling, a bloodless dreamer seeking to fly away from the realities of life into the dim corners of inaction. He is a believer in the supremacy of man and in his glorious future to be attained as much through work as through contemplation. If these poems thus express neither his ideas about God nor those about man and life, it would not be far from the truth to say that they are of the nature of exercises. There is left over only his symbolism which,

however, clung to him, though it underwent transformation as he adopted the drama as the instrument of creation.

Behind this transformation there may or may not be Maeterlinck's own dissatisfaction with the far-fetched, obscure character of the images he used in his poems; but such transformation is inherent in the substitution of prose for verse. Even the most beautiful prose must differ from verse in rhythm and music, while richness of imagery such as is permissible or possible in verse is not permissible or possible in prose. Consequently the two constituents of the symbolism of the poems, the suggestiveness of sounds and the suggestiveness of images, must either disappear or appear in a different form in the dramas. If both the constituents disappeared, the symbolism would entirely disappear; but suggestion through images is common to the poems and the symbolical dramas; only, the images in the dramas have been necessarily used in a different manner. In the poems, the images, along with the sounds of the words or syllables, serve to produce moods rather than give any definite meanings; in the dramas, the images serve to create an atmosphere, as in *The Intruder* (1890), and, to some extent, in *Pelleas and Melisanda* (1892) and *Alladine and Palomides* (1894); or, besides creating an atmosphere, to evolve an allegorical story, as in *The Sightless* (1891), *The Seven Princesses* (1891), *The Interior* (1894), and *The Death of Tintagiles* (1894); or only to evolve an allegorical story without any emphasis on creation of atmosphere, as in *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue* (1901), *The Blue Bird* (1908) and *The Betrothal* (1918). These three grades of Maeterlinck's dramatic symbolism may be illustrated by an analysis of three typical plays.

In *The Intruder* (1890), when the curtain rises, we stand facing a dimly lighted room in an old country-house at the back of which are visible stained glass windows, in which the colour green predominates. Bathed in the dim, greenish light, there sit in the room the old blind grandfather, the father, the uncle

and the three daughters. There is silence all around. It has rained the whole week, and the night is damp and cold. This is the first evening of rest that the family have got since the wife, the blindman's daughter was brought to bed of a child. The young baby is in a room on the right of the one in which the members of the family are seated. The baby's mother is in a room on the left, struggling between life and death. With varying degrees of apprehension for the fate of the bed-ridden mother the members of the family sit on, and the night advances. They await the arrival of a nun—the uncle's sister—before nine o'clock. Nine o'clock is past and yet nobody comes. The eldest daughter looks from the window but she can see none; only a little wind rises in the avenue. The nightingales were singing so long, but they suddenly cease singing. Somebody must have entered the garden; somebody must be passing by the pond, because the swans are scared; and all the fishes in the pond are diving suddenly. The uncle is sure that his sister is scaring the swans; she must have come in by the little gate. But it is a mystery why the dogs do not bark. The watch-dog is right at the back of his kennel and the swans are crossing to the other bank. The uncle calls out, 'Sister! sister! Is that you?' but no one is there. There is a silence of the grave over the entire house. The night advances. The doors and the windows are shut; only the glass door is open. It seems to the sensitive blind man that the cold is penetrating into the room. There is again a little wind in the garden, and the rose-leaves fall. Let the door be shut, it is late. But the door cannot be shut. The three daughters together cannot shut it. The grandfather is alarmed. The uncle helps the daughters. Yet they cannot shut it quite. But hark! suddenly the sound of a scythe being sharpened is heard outside. The grandfather shudders. The uncle startles. What is that? It is perhaps the gardener; but he cannot be seen; he must be seen in the shadow of the house. Is he mowing by night? May be, to-morrow is a Sunday and the grass has been very long round the house. The gardener

seems to be mowing near the house, in the dark. To the blind man it sounds as if he were mowing inside the house. But look there, why is the lamp not burning well this evening? It has burnt badly since the window was shut. Is the chimney dirty? Meanwhile the worried grandfather falls asleep and the father and the uncle engage in a light talk on his blindness. The talk continues till the clock strikes ten when the blind man awakes and asks if he is facing the glass door, if there is anybody at the door. The daughter at the window assures him that no one has come. At this time a noise is heard as of someone coming into the house. The uncle is sure his sister is coming; he recognises her step. The father is confident someone has come in at the basement. But how long can she take in coming up the stairs? They pull the bell-rope to call the servant. The alert, suspicious ears of the grandfather can already hear a noise on the stairs; the servant is coming up, but it sounds to him as if she were not alone. Who else is there? Only the servant stands outside when the little door is opened. She tells them that nobody has entered the house. They heard that noise because she was shutting the door. But why was the door left open at this time of the night? The servant does not know; she had shut it herself. Then who was it that opened it? The servant does not know either. As she stands outside, answering the questions the father warns her not to push the door. She assures him that she is not even touching the door, being three yards away from it. But to him it is clear that she is trying to get into the room. Is there, then, some invisible body standing by the servant? The perpetual darkness of the blind grandfather now becomes darker still and he helplessly asks if they are putting out the light. The lamp, however, is burning as before. The servant goes down, the little door is shut and the clock strikes eleven. The servant is gone down, but the blind man thinks she is sitting at the table; at any rate, somebody has come into the room. But those who have eyes do not see that somebody and assure him accordingly. The grandfather

is puzzled. Do they want to deceive him? Something must have happened. He is sure his daughter is worse. Why were they talking under breath just now? It is clear that somebody is sitting by his side. They must have brought a stranger into the room. They repeatedly assure him that no one has come in, but he cannot be convinced. How many of them are there in the room? Six, round the table. Are all of them round the table? Yes, Paul is there, Oliver is there, and there are Genevieve, and Gertrude and Ursula. But who is that sitting there, in their midst? The father, the uncle and the daughters all assure him there is none. Their combined assurance makes him hesitate, but his uneasiness grows more and more. He would like to pierce the darkness. He does not know what ails him. And why are the girls trembling? Why are they pale? And who made that noise? Is it the lamp flickering? Yes, but there is no wind in the room; the windows are shut. There is no oil in the lamp; it is going out. The air within the room seems stifling and the silence around is such that one could hear an angel tread. The sisters tremble again and the grandfather is afraid. Here a ray of moonlight penetrates through a corner of the stained glass, and throws strange gleams here and there in the room. The clock strikes midnight and at the last stroke there is a very vague sound, as of some one rising in haste. The grandfather shudders with peculiar horror and asks, 'Who is that who got up?' The uncle says, 'No one got up,' the father answers, 'I did not get up' and the daughters add, 'Nor I ! — Nor I ! — Nor I ! ' But the grandfather is quite certain someone got up from the table and at this moment cries of terror are heard from the child's room while quick and heavy steps are heard in the room on the left. They listen in mute terror until the door of the room opens slowly and the attending nurse appears on the threshold and bows, making the sign of the cross to announce the death of the wife.

From beginning to end of the play detail is thus heaped upon detail through the conversation of the *dramatis personæ* and the result is not so much the development of a story, nor so much the evolution of characters as the creation of an atmosphere. It is an atmosphere created for the slow approach and surreptitious entry of the Intruder, Death. The ominous silence reigning around, the nightingales stopping their songs on a sudden, the watch-dog crawling into its kennel, a gentle breeze in the avenue, rose-leaves falling, the frightened swans crossing to the other side of the pond, and the fishes diving below the water's surface, all suggest the approach of a stranger ; and, within the room, the flicker of the lamp, the cold wind penetrating, the inexplicable opening of the door, the difficulty in shutting the window, whispering talk, the blind man's suspicious alertness, a mysterious sound as of someone rising in haste, and, at the end, heavy footsteps in the mother's room with simultaneous cries of terror in the child's room, all equally clearly suggest the presence of an invisible agent. It is all a question of suggestion, in the manner of the symbolists, not a question of definite description.

In *The Death of Tintagiles* (1894) the images combine with incidents to create an atmosphere and also to help the development of a story which has undoubtedly a significance other than literal. The action of the piece takes place in an island so solitary and silent that a bird that flies, a leaf that trembles, a rose that opens, all these seem events there, and a ripe fruit falling in the park draws faces to the window. The sea roars at a distance ; the trees moan ; poplars stifle the palace; and dead vegetation poisons the horizon. In the midst of this deadly atmosphere there ensues a struggle that is typical of the eternal struggle between man and destiny. Young Tintagiles is snatched away from his sister's arms by the emissaries of the dread Queen who lives within the palace stifled with poplars. Love, anxiety, vigilance, wisdom, all prove fruitless in the struggle with that mysterious, all-devouring power. The theme is one of perpetual

interest and may be found, in some form or other, to supply the ultimate motive of all literature. Maeterlinck's peculiarity necessarily lies in his presentation. The human forces in the struggle are represented typically in the persons of Tintagiles and his friends, while the superhuman forces, Destiny and her confederates, are represented symbolically in the characters of the Queen and her attendants. To attempt to bring on to the stage an abstraction like destiny or death is a very bold venture, and though such ventures have been undertaken with varied success since classical days, the inherent difficulty, or perhaps the inherent absurdity of such attempts cannot be ignored. Maeterlinck here meets the difficulty with the help of symbolism. His "Queen" is never seen on the stage. An impression of what she is and what she looks like is produced entirely by suggestion. "She is never seen...She lives there, all alone in the tower; and those who wait on her do not go out by daylight;...She is very old; and she wishes to reign alone...She is suspicious and jealous and they say she is mad...She is afraid lest someone should raise himself to her place;...Her orders are carried out: but no one knows how...She never leaves the tower, and all the gates are closed night and day...They say she is not beautiful, and that her form is strange...But those who have seen her dare not speak of her...And who knows whether they have seen her? .. She has a power which nobody can understand and people live there with a terrible weight on their soul...All these years the Queen has been there in her enormous tower, devouring those whom the inhabitants loved and not a single one has dared strike her in the face...She lies on their soul like the stone of a tomb. and no one dares stretch out his arm..." The image of the Queen thus forms itself within our mind, and assumes proportions which it would have been impossible to visualise on the stage. Her physical appearance is not even described except in the few indefinite words, "They say she is not beautiful, and that her form is strange." Nevertheless, she is made to appear to our imagination as a dark, monstrous power that sits heavy as a

nightmare on our bosom. Like the mythical dragon turning an entire land into a desert by its poisonous breath, this Queen, by her deadly presence, has depopulated the island she rules. Her sway spreads across lands and seas and at her bidding mysterious emissaries work with wind and are said to fetch within her clutches the victim she wants. If she commands, even the wise man puts his two hands together and says nothing, and his weary feet climb the staircase to go up to her, without lingering and without hastening, though he knows full well that none came down again with eyes unclosed. The climax in the development of this dark character is reached in the last scene of the piece where sister Ygraine stands crying helplessly outside the door of the gloomy vault while Tintagiles within gradually sinks into death. All around the vault it is so cold and so dark that one is afraid to breathe. The great door is equally cold, and made of iron, solid iron, and there is no lock to open it. With a flickering lamp in hand Ygraine stands by the door, trying to peer into the mystery on the other side: "Some say one thing, some say the other; but the way of the soul is quite different. When the chain is removed, there is much more than one knows.....I came here with my little lamp.....It did not go out, in spite of the wind on the staircase .....And then what is one to think? There are so many things which are vague... ..There must be people who know them; but why do not they speak?" The little lamp did not go out in spite of the wind on the staircase that leads to the gate of death. Is this lamp, then, that spiritual power of man which takes him to the verge of the mysterious region where earthly life ends and the great hereafter begins? There is a small crack in the door, we are told, but so small that a needle could not go through it. The sands are running in the glass and Tintagiles feels his end coming fast upon him. He catches a glimpse of the light of Ygraine's lamp through the crack on the door and impatiently cries to be taken out. Cannot the door be opened a little, a little only, because he is so small? Has she nothing to

open with, nothing at all, nothing at all ? Ah, no, the only weapon she has at her disposal is her little earthen lamp. She gropes and fumbles at the door. Her nails are broken ; she pulls and pushes and strikes with all her might ; two of her fingers are numbed. But the great mystery is that the door stands unshaken while Ygraine's lamp goes out and breaks and falls in pieces to the ground. After this there is complete darkness. Tintagiles seems to recede farther away and his voice grows increasingly faint until, after the pathetic exchange of last kisses on opposite sides of the door, the fall of a little body is heard behind the door.

In this terrible last scene the word 'Queen' is never uttered, not even by Tintagiles who feels her breath ; she is throughout referred to as 'she' and ' her ' and, along with her assistants, as 'they.' The deliberate omission of the term 'Queen' and the fact that Tintagiles does not see anybody when he is taken by the throat, deepen the sense of mystery and terror that the character of this strange Queen evokes from the beginning of the play. She remains throughout an invisible, inscrutable being whose existence we infer from her action. And in perfect artistic consistency with the presentation of the Queen, her servants, though brought on to the stage, are completely veiled, their long black cloaks flowing down to the ground. We do not see their faces and so cannot identify them as any known species of beings. They come and go in the darkness of night. Their physical appearance on the stage serves to intensify the mystery that surrounds their invisible Queen living perpetually behind her iron door.

From the analysis above given it will be seen that in *The Intruder* the creation of an atmosphere is the only or the primary concern of the poet, and in *The Death of Tintagiles* the development of a story is as important a factor as the creation of an atmosphere. The third and last grade of Maeterlink's dramatic symbolism in which it assumes the form of allegory without any emphasis on the creation of a definite atmosphere is best found

in his fairy play of *The Blue Bird* (1908) which generally speaking,[1] presents the human soul going out in search of the secret of happiness and things ultimately discovered within the four walls of home. It thus appears that Maeterlinck's symbolism has gradually gained in clarity, the enigmatic obscurity of the poems yielding place to the subtle suggestiveness of atmosphere and story in the earlier dramas, this subtle suggestiveness in its turn being replaced by the fairly clear allegory of *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue, The Blue Bird* and *The Betrothal.* This is to say that pre-eminently emotional symbolism has changed to an admixture of emotional and intellectual symbolism, and this admixture has again changed to pre-eminently intellectual symbolism. Maeterlinck, therefore, starting his career in the manner of the French symbolists, has gone farther and farther from them until, as the writer of *The Blue Bird,* he stands in close proximity to Spenser and Bunyan. This change in method was not accidental, but intimately connected with change in matter. It is to be noticed that these allegorical plays are comparatively late productions, *Ardiane and Brabe Bleue* being published in 1901, *The Blue Bird* in 1908 and *The Betrothal* in 1918, while the earlier symbolical dramas were finished by the year 1889-96 (which may be described as the first period of the Maeterlinck's literary career) Maeterlinck was obsessed as it were with the idea of fatality. All the dramas of that period deal with fatality in some form or other, mostly in the form of death ; but from 1900 onwards there is a change and the shadow of death disappears. It has been noted above that to bring on to the stage abstractions like death and destiny is a difficult task and involves an inherent absurdity, whence arises the necessity of symbolism in such cases. Aeschylus's Eumenides and Shakespeare's witches appear on the stage. The Eumenides were most probably external realities having an existence independent of the existence of Orestes ; Shakespeare's witches may have appeared to Macbeth as real creatures of flesh and blood who hover through fog and filthy

[1] A detailed study of the symbolism of *The Blue Bird* is reserved for a future paper.

air or go about killing swine ; or they may have been mere illusions visualising Macbeth's own passions. In the latter case they would be no more than symbols. But whatever view the ancients may have taken of these Eumenides and weird sisters, to the modern reader, Maeterlinck holds, they are no more than symbols. " The truth is," he says, " that these supernatural interventions to-day satisfy neither spectator nor reader ...this wrath of the gods, intervention of hell, and writing in letters of fire, are to him no more to-day than so many symbols that have long ceased to content him " (*The Buried Temple*). Accordingly, in consonance with his own theory, he cannot bring death or destiny on to the stage as a supernatural being. The Queen in *The Death of Tintagiles* is not a supernatural creature; she is a symbol, standing for a truth, namely, destiny in the form of death. Similarly, what might at first sight appear as supernatural in *The Intruder*, *The Sightless*, *The Seven Princesses*, and *The Interior*, is in reality not supernatural but symbolical. Since 1900 Maeterlinck has handled subjects for presentation of which symbolism has not been found necessary, except in the three allegories just mentioned; but in these allegories, as has been already noted, symbolism is distinctly thin and clear in comparison with the symbolism of the earlier dramas.

As symbolism thus thins away in Maeterlinck's hands and practically disappears in his latest dramas,[1] the question must be asked, as it must be asked in any study of symbolism, " Is symbolism indispensable? or is it a product of mere whim or fancy? " The reply to this question has been partially given above. It may be further stated in conclusion that the reply to this question will ultimately depend on the particular way in which we look at life. Time was when artists and thinkers were satisfied with studying the surface of life, with presenting its noise and bustle, bloodshed and loud laughter or uproarious cry. But the angle of vision has now changed. Students of

[1] Can we regard the suggestive dream-phenomena in *The Power of the Dead* (1921) as symbolical?

life are now concerned with what goes on within man rather than outside and it is a sincere conviction with many that our fate is decided not in the field of battle but in the silent corner of our room. "I have grown to believe," says Maeterlinck, "that an old man, seated in his arm chair, waiting patiently, with his lamp beside him; giving unconscious ear to all the eternal laws that reign about his house, interpreting, without comprehending, the silence of doors and windows and the quivering voice of the light, submitting with bent head to the presence of his soul and destiny—I have grown to believe that he, motionless as he is, does yet live in reality a deeper, more human and more universal life than the lover who strangles his mistress, the captain who conquers in battle, or 'the husband who avenges his honour'" (*The Treasure of the Humble*). If the writer's aim be to present only the noisier side of life, the common manner of expression will be sufficient for his purpose; but if he aims at presenting the deeper currents of life that run on in silence, the mysterious forces that mould and guide our existence, that manner of expression will be found wanting; description will have to be replaced by suggestion, that is, he will have to use some form of symbolism. Accordingly, in every age, whenever the artist has attempted to embody in his creation any subtler, mystic phase of the true, the beautiful, and the good, he has had to make use of symbols, be that in architecture or sculpture, painting or literature. Symbolism, therefore, implicit in all great literature from the very beginning, is not a mere product of whim or fancy; it is an indispensable necessity for creation; and Maeterlinck, by adopting it in his own way, has only legitimately met the demands of art. [1]

JNANENDRANATH CHAUDHURI

[1] Extracts from the English version of *Serres Chaudes* and *Quinze Chansons* have been quoted with the kind permission of Messrs. J. B. Pinker & Son; and those from the English version of *La Mort de Tintagiles, Le Trésor des Humbles, La Sagesse et la Destinée, Le Temple Enseveli* and *La Vie de l'Espace* with the kind permission of Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

# UGO FOSCOLO.

Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century Italy, among the countries of Europe the most exclusive and traditional, was gradually discarding the attitude of complacent self-sufficiency which characterised her for centuries and entering into the general intellectual movement of the rest of the Continent. Of course she did not give birth to any of the movements which brought about a new orientation of man's outlook during the last two centuries, but she made utmost efforts to keep herself abreast of the time by participating in them all. She had already begun to make herself acquainted with the ideals of French literature, and very soon the literatures of other countries began to make their influence felt. Translations from English began to abound. Conti translated the works of Pope, Rolli Milton's "Paradise Lost"; Cesarotti translated Macpherson's "Ossian" and Gray's "Elegy." Thomson's "Seasons" and Young's "Night Thoughts" were also translated. Later, German literature was studied.

Such multifarious influences from abroad produced for some time an intellectual disorder similar to what we find in present-day India. There was the same political disorganisation, social disintegration and loss of the power of original thinking and creation, as we observe in our country. Italy was for centuries the arbiter of tastes in matters literary and artistic, which position she retained with all glory until the end of the sixteenth century. Then followed a period of depression and servile imitation of the ancient models; the level of literary and artistic activity sank lower and lower. Not that there was any lack of gifted men in Italy at the time, but due to uncongenial surroundings, the blight of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, the poetical vein of the people ran almost dry; the soul vanished, the form only remained in their creations. As De Sanctis aptly

says :—" The fourteenth century spoke, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only chattered." Tired of the fluent inanity of the writers of the period, some Italians—Baretti, Cesarotti, Beccaria—turned their eyes across the Alps to France, Germany and also to England, and in consequence of this two schools of writers arose, the traditionalists championing the ancient ideals and the modernists rejecting the tradition in its entirety. The circumstances then existing in the country favoured the moderns by engendering among the noblest minds a prevailing disgust and despair, conducive to the diffusion of morbid sentiment and a generally mournful cast of mind. But the sentimental tendencies inaugurated by the study of foreign literatures found the most powerful representative in a man whose eventful and unhappy career mirrors, at the same time, the vicissitudes of contemporary Italy more closely than that of any other man of equal eminence and activity of his day.

This man is Ugo Foscolo, a name unknown in India. Even in Europe, where he must be regarded as one of the foremost poets of the romantic age, he has not been given, outside Italy, that recognition which is his due. During his lifetime he had the fortune to enjoy a short-lived European renown, but the historians of European poetry have generally managed to disregard his significance and leave him in the cold. Yet, as Croce says, he is one of the profound renewers of modern time, and we can ill afford to keep ourselves ignorant of his personality and poetical achievement.

Ugo Foscolo was born at Zante in January, 1778. His father Andrea Foscolo was an Italian doctor, while his mother was a Greek. The Greek blood seems to have been stronger in him, because in spite of his fervent love for Italy, he was always partial towards the fair native land of his mother and valued the civilisation of Greece as higher than that of Rome. After his father's death, which occurred in 1788 when Ugo was a boy of ten, the Foscolos migrated to Venice, but the memories of Zante were ever fresh in his mind and appear repeatedly in his poetry.

As a boy Foscolo was, to quote the words of Professor Piccoli, "insolent and rebellious...stubborn and negligent of his studies, or if he studied at all, he studied what pleased him." Foscolo himself tells us that he was "slow and obstinate, out of health from melancholy, and at times fierce and insane from rage." Sometimes he would remain gloomy for days together and weep without reason, while at other times he was the very embodiment of unrestrained joy. This alternation of moods, this periodicity of sunshine and shower, remained a characteristic of him throughout his life and was probably a legacy of his distant ancestors, who were men of strong feelings and audacious, restless, adventurous and fighting temperament. However, while still at Zante, Foscolo picked up a knowledge of Greek, and after his arrival at Venice, he continued to train his taste by constant study of the Greek poets and Dante. Very soon the writings of the French encyclopædists attracted him, and he also became an admirer of Alfieri, who was at that time stimulating the national sentiment of Italians by his patriotic dramas. As a result of this admiration, in 1797 he wrote a tragedy entitled "Tieste," which was dedicated to his idol, declaring that "for simplicity of structure and severely restrained dialogue, the tragedies of the ancients and therefore those of Alfieri are the only models."

The fire that was in him made Foscolo a precocious lover in his private life and a republican in his opinions and ideas about public affairs. In 1795, at the age of eighteen, he fell in love with Isabella Teotocchi, the then reigning beauty of Venice, fourteen years older than himself. What was the exact attitude of the other party is not known, but we know that she aided him in many respects and had sympathy and admiration for him. In the year of the publication of his drama, the attention of the Venetian government was directed to him, on account of his revolutionary ideas. He left Venice and went to Bologna, where he wrote his "Oda a Bonaparte Liberatore."

In October, the popular party becoming victorious, he returned to Venice and became a member of the Republic. But

by the treaty of Campo-formio, Venice was ceded to Austria and Foscolo, with all his hopes shattered, withdrew to Milan, where he made the acquaintance of Parini and Monti.

We said before that Foscolo was a precocious lover. There are many such precocious lovers, but with him love was a necessity, a nutrition for his soul. He was, as Prof. Piccoli says, in love with love, and 'affair' followed upon 'affair' in unending succession. Even while he was in love with Isabella Teotocchi, his heart was ruled by another unknown girl whom he called Laura. While in Milan, he fell in love with Monti's beautiful wife; then followed the affair with Isabella Roncioni, "the divine girl" as she was called; then he became enamoured of Antonietta Fagnami-Arese. Meanwhile he contributed articles to "Monitore Italiano" and protested against the abolition of the Latin curriculum in schools. In 1799 he fought against the Austrians under General Championnet and was taken prisoner. Later he participated and played a brilliant part in the siege of Genoa.

It was at this time that he wrote his celebrated novel, "Le Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis." To this period also belong the odes "A Luigia Pallavicini caduta da Cavallo" and "All' amica risanata." In 1804 he enlisted himself as a soldier in the Italian division of Napoleon's army and for two years remained at Boulogne and St. Omer, where, as the result of a liaison with an Englishwoman, a daughter, named Florian, was born to him. Here, too, he learnt English and began the translation of Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" which was not completed till 1813.

In 1806 Foscolo returned to Milan. In that year he began the most celebrated of his poems "I Sepolcri." In 1808 he was appointed Professor of Italian Eloquence in the University of Pavia, which post he occupied only for a brief period. Shortly after this appointment, an event occurred which has still remained a mystery. In Milan, in the month of June, Lena, the wife of his friend Bignami, made an attempt to commit suicide.

Why and how it happened we do not know. But we know that Lena was not altogether indifferent to the poet and that her husband was jealous of him. We also know that Foscolo regularly visited the lady in her sick bed and was in great anxiety about her life. But nothing more has been handed down to us. The incident perturbed him and with a sorrowful heart he left Milan for Como, where he began to live with his old and faithful friend Montevecchio. Here again, during the months of July and August, another calamitous love-affair befell him, which altogether prostrated the soul of the unhappy poet.

" Ajace " a drama—appeared in 1811. In 1812 Foscolo retired to Florence at the beautiful Bellosguardo Villa. Here he met the " donna gentile "—Quirina Mocenni Maggioti—whose good looks again inspired him with a violent passion. To the credit of this lady it must be said that though not genuinely responding to his love, she remained his most beautiful and self-sacrificing friend to the end, without being affected by his constant infidelities. Here too he worked upon " Le Grazie."

After the fall of Napoleon, the Austrians again became supreme in Italy and Foscolo, who desired that his country should have peace, welcomed their return and entered into negotiations with them for the editing of a paper. But he refused to take any oath of loyalty to the foreign Government. Moreover, his friends told him that if he served the Austrians, he would be looked upon as a spy and avoided by them. Thereupon on March 30, 1815, he fled to Switzerland without money or passport. " By this act," says Carlo Cattaneo, " Ugo Foscolo gave Italy a new institution, Exile." He passed a few months there in great pecuniary distress and at last decided to go to England where he landed on September 11, 1816.

In England, among the people of the more elevated classes, Foscolo, whose renown as a poet and writer had already travelled there, found a more congenial society than in Switzerland. London was, after all, not so uncultured as Zurich where he

lived almost unloved and incognito. From London he wrote to the "Donna gentile:" "Here for the first time I have felt that I am, in fact, not altogether unknown to men; I am welcomed here as one who has, as it were, had enjoyed a century of fame." On account of the great qualities of his head and heart he was very soon able to pick up many acquaintances, among whom were Lord and Lady Holland, the poet Samuel Rogers and other celebrities of the day. Whoever heard that the author of "Jacopo Ortis" was in London, came of his own accord to know the poet. In England, too, he found himself in the company of the beautiful daughters of Edward Fitzgerald and Sir Roger Wilbrahan, while the presence of other graces in his different abodes was not a thing of rare occurrence. But the lady with whom he fell in love in his characteristic manner was Caroline Russell, daughter of Sir John Russell, whom he had met before in Switzerland. To her he dedicated a volume of verses in English with the following inscription:

> I twine, far distant from my Tuscan grove,
> The lily chaste, the rose that breathes of love,
> The myrtle leaf and Laura's hallowed bay,
> The deathless flow'rs that bloom o'er Sappho's clay;
> For the calliroe!—yet by Love and years
> I learn how Fancy wakes from joy to tears;
> How Memory pensive, 'reft of hope, attends
> The Exile's path, and bids him fear new friends.

London was too costly a place and his means were modest. To gain his livelihood he made contributions to various English journals, but, inspite of his best efforts, he could not make both ends meet. Sometimes a generous friend came to his rescue, but he was constantly running into debt and changing his address in the town, keeping it concealed from all except a few friends. In fact, he was reduced to such straits that he had to sell his books, and stories are told that on two occasions he had even to commit theft. He worked upon articles from morning

till night, but the editors often did not pay him. Such physical labour, such mental anxiety and strain, told heavily upon his health and he died of dropsy, at Turnham Green, his last home, on Sept. 10, 1827.

Such, in brief, is the career of Foscolo. It is the life of a man who was nervously ill-balanced and ignorant of the virtues of moderation. It is tense with emotion and at the same time evinces an extraordinary activity of the human will. His constant moral lapses have been the subjects of severe criticism by stern judges of men and things, but his soul was pure and it loved whatever is beautiful and good. He was not a man of handsome appearance, but his personality was catching. It naturally inspired love and sympathy in the hearts of the people with whom he came in contact. His misery was to a great extent due to this, but due to this is also the position which he holds among Italians, not only as a great poet but also as a leader of men.

Foscolo's intellectual activity may be considered from three points of view—as a critic and thinker, as a prose-writer and as a poet.

Foscolo was not a systematic thinker who develops his idea and carries it to a conclusion with logical consistency. He rather thought by fits and starts. His temperament was against his being a regular thinker; yet he has left us many useful thoughts upon men and things, upon politics, literature, history and religion, which are of greater value than the lengthy reasoned arguments of academic philosophers, who deal more with abstractions than with reality and life. Foscolo's mind was always in ferment; it was teeming with ideas; but his thoughts derive their significance from the active interest which he took in life. When he writes—" for maintaining liberty the people must be just; but no one, who is not strong, can be just "—we hear the sincere accent of a man who has personally felt what he writes. As a political writer Foscolo saw only one thing as reality—the nation. Whatever he thought, whatever he wrote, centred round

this. The nation was always supreme with him, as it is with the fascists. This may be a reason why so many studies on Foscolo have, of late, appeared in Italy. He is one of the shapers and animators of New Italy—the fore-runner of Mazzini and Mussolini. As a critic of literature, Foscolo was fully conscious of the close connection between poetry and life. His master in this field was the great philosopher Vico, who taught that every work of art is a psychological phenomenon, and can be properly understood only when it is considered in relation to the life of the artist and his age. Here we find the beginning of that method of criticism which ruled European æsthetics the recent past, but the credit of its first practical application belongs to Foscolo. As De Sanctis says :—"Foscolo is the first of Italian critics to consider a work of art as a psychological phenomenon and look for its source in the mind of the writer and in the atmosphere of the period in which he was born." Studying from this point of view, he was able to shed much new light on the works of Dante and Petrarch. In fact, he may be said to have, by his critical writings, given a new literary conscience to Italy. To quote De Sanctis again : "with him is reborn the spirit of philosophical and historical investigations... with him Italy recovers her lost tradition and is linked again with Vico and Muratori." He was romantic inasmuch as he was an admirer of "primitive poets" but he loved the ancient poets because "they described things as they saw them, without desiring to magnify them before the eyes of the satiated readers," whereas in the writings of modern authors, especially those of France, he found nothing but exaggeration and distortion. In his own poetical writings he always placed harmony at the summit. "He assigned," as Croce says, "to poetry and art the end of potentialising life and making man sensible of it, effecting what might be described as an æsthetic education."

Besides his critical writings, the other most important prose piece of Foscolo is his celebrated novel "Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis." It was written in 1799 when Venetia was ceded

to Austria. Foscolo, who entertained high hopes about the destiny of his fatherland, met with bitter disappointment, which, following upon an unhappy love-affair, reduced him to a state of desperation, and he gave vent to his feelings in these letters. The book was the first cry of disillusionment and a prelude to a greater tragedy that was to follow. A grey tone, an autumnal sadness, pervades the entire work. It is the story of a soul fed upon dreams and illusions which, at the first contact with reality, awakens to find its hopes, like leaves in autumn, fall one by one and disappear in the typhoon of world events. Jacopo Ortis is reminiscent of Werther and a forerunner of Renè. Albertazzi fixes the genealogy as follows: —"Clarissa Harlowe"—"Nouvelle Heloise"—"Werther"—"Ortis." But, though inspired by Goethe, it is a mistake to regard the book as an imitation of Werther. Werther is the tragedy of an individual, but Ortis is the tragedy of an individual and a nation. We must remember that, had there been no cession of Venice, there might not have been any Ortis. The story is simple. After the cession of Venice, Ortis, the hero, escapes to the Euganean hills and there falls in love with Teresa, who is betrothed to Edouard. Teresa loves Ortis but she will not break her troth and marry him. Ortis becomes a wanderer and after some time returns to the Euganean hills to see her married. Thereupon, in utter despair, he commits suicide. The personal element in the book was derived from his relations with Isabella Roncioni and Antonietta Fagniami. To the latter he wrote: "I have faithfully portrayed myself with all my weaknesses in that book." In another letter he says: "I shall perhaps write better as author, but the man will never write again as in that book." "He is there," says De Sanctis, "as nature and education, illusions and disillusions had made him. There we have Venice betrayed, Isabella lost, the memory of Louisa and of his mother and friends, the man without a country, without a family, without a god." Here are also to be discerned the

chief motives which were developed with such splendid eloquence in his later works. It is better to give an illustration in order to note clearly the relation between Ortis and the later works.

"Yet the hope that I may be regretted comforts me.....my grave will be washed by thy tears, the tears of that celestial maiden. Who would yield this dear troublous life of ours to eternal oblivion?.....Nature laments even in the tombs, and the lamentation conquers silence and obscurity of death."

Here we find his poetical motive of longing for memory and it reminds us of the immortal lines of "I Sepolcri."

.....'il sospiro
che dal tumulo a noi manda natura."

Let us again take the following passage:

"In delicious dreams I see before me the nymphs naked... and in their company I invoke the Muses and Love; and in the streams that leap, splashing and foaming, I behold the Nereids, sweet guardians of the springs, revealed to the breast, with their dripping hair tossed over their spray-spangled shoulders and their eyes smiling. Illusions, cries the philosopher. But is not everything illusion? Everything! Blessed were the ancients who.....found Beauty and Truth by caressing the wraiths of their imagination! Illusions! Why, without them I should not be conscious of life except in pain or (what frightens me even more) in stark and dreamy inertness."

Here are to be found the germs of his other poetical motives—Beauty, necessity of illusions and action, Art and Imagination. Readers of English poetry will be reminded here of Keats's "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty" and students of Italian poetry feel themselves near to some of the leading ideas of Leopardi.

It would be interesting to note here the similarity and difference that exist between Leopardi and Foscolo, the two greatest poetical geniuses of modern Italy—and the comparison

brings out the peculiar excellence of Foscolo's genius and character in a striking manner.

Leopardi is the poet of pessimism *par excellence*. In none of the poets of that age is the *weltshmerz* so deep and tragic as in this Italian singer of sorrow. Circumstances made Byron and Shelley what they were, but Leopardi was a born pessimist, a counterpart of Schopenhauer in the region of poetry, external circumstances only aiding the development of what was ingrained in him. From the dialogue between Nature and Soul, we gather that he looked upon happiness as the end of life and yet he was constrained to find that unhappiness is the common lot of mankind, and the higher the man, the greater is his misery. Had he been born in India, he would probably have ended by becoming a Buddhist monk. But born elsewhere and with a different temperament, he declared that the only means of alleviating universal suffering lay not in *Nirvana* but in hope, imagination and illusions of our life. "This world is nothing and all our good consists in our dear illusions," he wrote to Brighetti. In his poem "Le ricordanze" he writes :

> "..... ..O speranze speranze, ameni inganni
> della mia prima età, etc."

At first Leopardi thought that man was responsible for his own misery, an attitude not very different from that of Wordsworth when he indited the line "what man has made of man." But his views gradually underwent a change. In "Risorgimento" (1828) Nature is described as utterly indifferent to man and concerned only with the continuation of the race.

> "So che natura è sorda,
> che miserar non sa,
> che non del ben sollecita
> Fu, ma dell' essere solo."

In "La Ginestra" she is depicted as the arch-enemy of man and—

> "madre in parto ed in voler matrigna."

Foscolo had the same dark view of things. His great emotional sensibility, as we have stated before, made him constantly suffer from things which, in a man of less highly strung nature, would have produced little or no impression at all. The cumulative effect of the sad experiences of his life was that he came to look upon himself as oppressed by an unknown power, which, like the Indian Kāla, shapes the destiny of man, directs his course of action, drives him onward against his will and then "inexorably hurls him into the darkness of death and oblivion." In "I Sepolcri" he writes :

.....e involve
Tutte cose l'oblio nella sua notte ;
E una forza operosa le' affatica
di moto in moto.....

This conception and disposition of spirit made Leopardi an impotent, angry, self-consumed singer of sorrow. But Foscolo's intense vitality protected him from being a sterile pessimist. He felt that man, the noblest of created beings, is but a creature of a day and as helpless before the elemental forces of nature or the divine wire-puller as a tiny flower or a little bird. But his capacity to think and still greater capacity to feel makes it unable for him to bear "the cold gaze of eternal Isis fixed without sympathy upon him"—he feels his isolation, feebleness, fortuitousness and in panic he turns his back upon nature and rushes forward into the world of activity which he himself has created, because there he feels his own importance and has faith in his power. Hence, as Croce explains, his life as a citizen, a soldier, an artist, a learned man, a friend and a lover. Hence his view of movement, agitation, passion and action as the sole reality.

In Ortis we move as it were in the atmosphere of a hot house. An overclose realism mars the artistic beauty of the book and lyricism is too often carried to the extreme. Poise and serenity are sacrificed to exaggerated expressions of

sentiment. But his poetry introduces us into a world which is far different. What is in Ortis is there as well, but everything is toned down, restrained, purified and modulated. It is an example of what pater calls "the value of reserve in literature." Its effect is like that of a lovely summer evening, when the contours of the earth are the same as in daytime, but owing to the weakness of light, the asperity is lost and the things shine in more enchanting hues.

His poetry is very slight in bulk. Considering the magnitude of his genius, it seems strange that he produced so little. A few sonnets, two odes, "I Sepolcri" and "Le Grazie" constitute his entire poetical output, but almost all of these are of choice quality. Some of his sonnets correspond to the most calamitous moments of his life, yet the treatment is so reserved that passion is almost eliminated, and the attenuated sentiment is absorbed in a form of perfect plastic beauty. There is withal a gentle melancholy in these sonnets which is irresistibly attractive and reminds us of Petrarch from whom obviously he learnt much of his art.

The great task of an artist is to find subjects which suit his talent. Many otherwise excellent talents have suffered shipwreck on this cliff. But Foscolo always succeeded in that. He was a single-minded devotee of beauty, and he attempted nothing in which he could not give expression to this devotedness. We know the criterion by which Diedimo Chierico (pseudonym of Foscolo during his exile) judged a man. He placed beauty first, then character, then intellect. But it is physical and not psychical beauty that inspired Foscolo. He loved the body and took delight in its infinite variety of movement. It was in the ode "A Luigia Pallavicini Caduta dal Cavallo" that he first turned his attention to these visions of beauty. But a thorough pagan as he was, he could not think of beauty except in terms of Greek mythology. The goddesses of Greek mythology, as the critic Citanna points out, are the real subjects of this ode. "The poet," says Croce, "whose imagination is full of antique images

of beauty, irradiated with the effulgent figures of Hellenic goddesses, conceives of the lovely Liguarian lady in the same manner.'' The lady of whom he sings fell from a horse and was dragged by it over stones. Now she is lying in her bed and looking wistfully at the physician's face "with the flattering hope of regaining her former beauty.'' The subject gives the poet an occasion to dilate upon one of his favourite themes, the immortalising power of poetry. Physical fairness passes away, colour decays, youth fades, and crabbed age makes wrinkles on the body, but "I make it eternal,'' he says—"I who paint and breathe an eternal soul into my visions.''

"All' Amica Risanata," written for Antonietta Fagnami, is a complement to this poem. It begins with the vision of his lady rising from her sick-bed like "the star most dear to Venus rising from the depth of the sea'' and at the end shows her as a priestess of Venus of Cythera, hard by Zacynthus, "ove perpetua odora primavera.''

The two chief remaining poetical works of Foscolo are "I Sepolcri'' and "Le Grazie.'' The former is the best sepulchral poem that I have read in any literature, the only other poem of the kind comparable to it being Bryant's "Thanatopsis." It is his most nearly perfect long poem in which he dwells on the political and moral necessity of paying homage to the dead. It falls in with the poetry of the grave which developed in England and was introduced into Italy by the translation of Young's "Night Thoughts." But the atmosphere of Italy is such that nothing romantic can endure there for long, and it is remarkable how the romantic theme has here been transformed into a thing of pure classic beauty. There is no gloom here, no moving about in the crepuscular darkness of a deserted country churchyard with the feeling of horror in one's mind; on the contrary, everything is clear and every line of the poem breathes forth a tender sentiment which makes death dear to us. Foscolo, however, describes "I Sepolcri" as "a kind of poetry which I believe, perhaps wrongly, to have originated with myself"; and

tells us that he derived his inspiration from the Greeks "who derived their moral and political ideas from ancient tradition and appealed not to their readers' reason but to their imagination and heart." The immediate origin of the poem was the promulgation of the new Napoleonic laws which provided common cemeteries for all alike and prohibited the erection of monuments over the tombs of the great. The law was apparently inspired by the revolutionary idea of equality, of levelling all distinctions between men not only in life but also in death. But Foscolo felt that a Santa Croce, a Westminister Abbey was a source of great strength to a nation, and that the people would be degenerated if that source were obstructed. He proclaimed that the dead live on in the affection of their dear ones, and though monuments may not be of any use to the departed themselves, they are helpful to the living in inspiring them with a desire to emulate the glories of their fore fathers. And is this desire an illusion? Perhaps: but it is a divine illusion, a necessary illusion which sustains not only the life of the individual but also that of the nation.

The substance of the poem is, of course, directly connected with Italy, but starting from the particular it reaches the universal and includes entire humanity and every nation. Death there is; but life may be prolonged after death by memory, which interrupts the activity of oblivion, and this is one of the fundamental factors in social evolution. The desire for survival in memory leads men to acts of glory; these acts of glory constitute the source of perennial life to nations. In thinking so the poet followed Vico, who taught that men recognised this truth as soon as they passed out of the savage state to the first forms of social life. This recognition was the origin of the custom of ancestral worship, which is found in diverse forms in different countries. It is so vital that no political and social vicissitudes can destroy it. Greece is gone, Romans are gone, but even now when a Greek stands on the soil of Marathon, an Italian stands in the Forum of the eternal city, a thrill passes

through his body, his mind is electrified, his imagination takes fire.

"A egregie cose il forte animo accendono
L'urne de' forti....."

But is it only the monuments which carry on this national memory through centuries? No; the poet's art is also a potent instrument for that. It is his imagination which sheds the balsam of immortality upon evanescent things of the world. Herein lies the supremacy of the poet as a leader of men. The poem ends with Cassandra's prophecy that Homer will one day bring immortality to those who fought at Troy. It is one of the magnificent passages in modern poetry.

".....un di vedrete
Mendico un cieco errar sotto le vostre
Antichissime ombre, e brancolando
Penetrar negli avelli, e abbracciar l'urne,
E interrogar le.....

.....Il sacro vate,
Placando quelle afflitte alme col canto,
I prenci argivi eternerà' per quante
Abbraccia terre il gran padre occano."

"Le Grazie" was written during a period of temporary felicity in the poet's life when he was at Bellosguardo. The influence of this happy state of mind and of the exquisite natural scenery of the place is noticeable in every line of the poem. It is an immaculate work of art, expressive of the poet's sweet sensuous delight in, and devotion to, Beauty. After many struggles he had at last a prospect of peace; and as he wandered, pensive and solitary, in the beautiful park of his villa, gazing calmly at the quiet landscape inundated with the limpid light of the sun and breathing deeply the exhilarating air of the Appenine vale, his mind became filled with visions of beauty, beauty that is no more contingent, but of a kind that was dreamt of by Plato in the immortal pages of his "Symposium." The poet now

moves in a region from where the din of the world is only confusedly heard, absorbed in his own contemplation and

" Cantando degli eterei pregi
Di che il cielo v' adorna....."

To this feast of beauty which he celebrates in his imagination he invites only one person, a kindred spirit, Canova the sculptor, that wizard artificer in marble.

" Nella convalle fra gli aerei poggi
Di Bellosguardo, ov'io, cinto d'un fante
Limpido fra le quete ombre di mille
Giovanetti cipressi, alle tre dive
L'ara inalzo.....
.....al vago rito
Vieni, o Canova, e agl'inmi."

Why? Because in all Italy he alone possessed the refinement and sensibility of mind to appreciate and give a tangible form to the poet's dream.

".....tu potrai lasciarle
immortali fra noi pria che alla Parca
sull' ali occulte fuggano degli anni."

The graces are three in number and represent Music, Poetry and Dance. Here again it is in the descriptive passages that Foscolo is at his best, and these descriptions generally relate to the physical beauty of lovely goddesses and the enchanting landscape of the surrounding country. We are given a series of delicate word-pictures which constantly produce a kind of aesthetic shocks on our nerves. But the poem is not altogether free from dolorous strains, which rise prominently whenever the poet is reminded of the torments, misfortunes and sufferings of Italy. " Le Grazie " has unfortunately remained a fragment. It seems that the peace which Foscolo was enjoying at Bellosguardo was suddenly broken and for reasons, not quite clear and comprehensible, he left the place in July, 1813 ; and though

he continued to work at the poem all his life, he never succeeded in finishing it.

That Foscolo's art is classical is obvious. He belongs to that small group of Hellenists—Winkleman, Hölderlin, Planten and others—who appeared in Europe towards the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. His classicism does not consist in any mere imitation of the technique of ancient models like Matthew Arnold did in "Merope" and Swinburne in "Atalanta in Calydon." Nor does it consist merely in his delight in paganism and its concomitant mythology. According to Croce "the classic quality of Foscolo does not reside in his exquisite Greco-Latin culture nor in his love of antique mythology, but in his whole-hearted feeling." We are, however, inclined to think that the roots of Foscolo's classicism lie in two things: in his Greek view of life and in his fervent patriotism. It was his sleepless love for his country which led him, as also Carduci, to the glorification of Italian nationalism which necessarily meant the glorification of the classical tradition. From England he wrote to a friend of his: "May God reunite us under the sky of the two countries of the world which I love, Italy and Greece, educators of the ungrateful people of Europe!" This love is not for the land but for the civilisation of these countries and is incommensurate with the love of romanticism which is a thing of the north. As regards our second proposition, Foscolo himself says: "there exists in the world an underlying harmony which man craves to find as indispensable to revive him after fatigue and suffering; and the more successful he is in discovering such a harmony, the more conscious he becomes of it and the greater his delight in it, so much the more are his passions fired to elevate and purify themselves." Now, is not this search after harmony essentially Greek? It would be difficult to give a better or a clearer explanation as to why it was that Greek art appealed to him above all others, and he expressed himself in classic mould. He failed to achieve this harmony in life and he tried to realise it

in his poetry. Man wants to achieve that which he does not possess.

What is Foscolo's place in Italian literature? He himself says " Sdegno il verso che suona e che non crea." It is a comment on his own poetry as well as on that of the preceding age and clearly defines the position which he holds. He is great not only intrinsically but also historically. After traversing, as it were, an arid zone of Italian poetry, we at last discover and arrive, in his works, at a cool, shady spot where everything is verdant and full of life. It is no longer the form that counts, nor the mere "contenuto," but a harmonious blending of the two, resulting in that gentleness which is inseparable from true poetry. To him verily applies what Taine wrote about Cowper : " At length poetry has again become life-like ; we no longer listen to words, but we feel emotions ; it is no longer an author but a man who speaks." Herein consists the revolution which he brought about in Italian poetry. In this he was preceded by Parini and followed by Leopardi. In fact it may be said that the new man in Italy was born in Parini, he became adolescent and melancholy in Foscolo, he was grown up and disillusioned in Leopardi. Each of them is a master of form, but whereas the beauty of the art of Parini and Leopardi is virile, Foscolo's art is sweet and seductive like the beauty of a young woman. His poetry is full of immortal lines which cling to memory long after the book has been closed, and the final impression is not that of separation from life, as is the case with the poetry of Leopardi, but increased love of life.

PRAMATHANATH ROY

# THE SCOTTISH BANKING SYSTEM AND WHAT IT TEACHES US

Ask any Scottish Banker what help he would require from the State, and the inevitable reply he would make—like Diogenes—would be "Stand out of my sunshine." While even the English banking system stands "crippled and enfeebled" by pernicious out-of-date legislation, which has only been rectified in 1928,[1] the Scottish Banking System has almost grown to its present height purely as a result of "natural and unfettered conditions."

Another outstanding example of sound, conservative and steadily progressive banking system arising purely out of the innate abilities of the people is the one of the Scottish Banking system. The State has done nothing towards banks excepting the granting of charter to a few of the older banks now known as the Chartered Banks. A larger number of banks are registered under the Companies Act of 1862 and the eight banks chartered as well as registered banks command the whole banking system of the modern day. Though formerly the Chartered Banks had the limited liability feature by virtue of their charter, the 1879 Act expressly limited their liability, so that all the Chartered banks are now known to be working on a limited liability basis.

The banking business consists in issuing notes, borrowing deposits, lending, discounting and investing—almost all operations known as commercial banking. They are both banks of deposit as well as issue. The monopoly of note-issue does not exist. Foreign business is developed on correct and satisfactory lines.

[1] But to some even the recent overhauling of the note-issuing machinery does not go far and they consider it "as a token of neglected opportunity." It is quite likely that the recommendations of the Macmillan Committee Report would be accepted and that useful changes will be made in the note-issue privilege of the Bank of England.

*Chief Features of Historical Growth.*

During the course of their gradual growth they have been fortunate in more than one sense and to this fortune must be attributed their unique development. The first feature of freedom from legislation, except the 1845 Act which favoured the Scottish bankers has already been referred to. If the English law acted unwisely in retaining monopoly of note-issue in one single bank, the 1845 Act favoured the Scottish Bankers in the following ways. Firstly the banks were permitted to issue £1 notes up to the average limit of their note circulation of one year before 1845. Secondly the note-issue privilege was not abolished as a result of any amalgamation with another bank. Thirdly the right of note-issue was not to be forfeited even if they were to open an office in London. Fourthly if gold were to be in excess at the Head Office the Scottish Banks were privileged to issue more notes. Thus even the law favoured the natural evolution of these banks into strong and sturdy institutions by virtue of their note-issue privilege. Secondly the private banks gradually became sequestered and bound up so that there is no effective competition with their business from the side of private bankers. So the path was rendered smooth for their gradual growth into mammoth establishments. For the present we find them covering the whole of the ground with a net-work of branches. Five have their headoffices in Edinburgh, two in Glasgow and one in Aberdeen. These eight head offices have more than 1,300 branches and there is roughly one branch office to every three thousand of the people. No district goes unprovided with modern banking facilities. The gradual process of amalgamation and the policy of branch bank extension are mainly responsible for the growth of these big and stable national banks who take every care to adapt themselves to the requirements of the country. Many of them are represented in London. In spite of Lord Goschen's futile endeavour in the nineties of the last century to deprive them of their note-issue

his bill could not become law and the much useful note-issue privilege has still remained intact in the hands of the Scottish Banks. The necessity of discarding costly and inefficient agents in London, the open-door policy maintained by the United Kingdom so far as the opening of the foreign branches was concerned, the necessity to find vast scope for the utilisation of increasing deposits and the anxiety to minimise the cost of banking service prevailed over the minds of the people and the Scottish Banks were allowed to open branches in the international centres.

*Points of Excellence.*

The main reasons which have made Scotland famous for her efficient banking system are chiefly as follows :

Firstly, the Scottish Banks issue notes which are elastic and suitable to the needs of the people. This has tended to make the bank-note elastic currency and the economy of precious metals was so great that banks took every care to extend the use of bank-notes. Their credit is so thoroughly established that bank-notes alone are ardently desired by the people. Metallic coins are no longer in use. The freedom of the bank-note issue has in no instance been abused.

Secondly, the system of granting advances known as the cash credit system has made Scotland famous all over the world. Since the 1826 Parliamentary Committee on the Scottish and the Irish Banks pointed out the excellences of the cash credit system even economists sing pæans of praise on the merits of this system.

Scotland originally developed this system in order to accommodate the thrifty businessmen who were now able to borrow on the strength of two sureties unconnected with the borrower. Sums below £400 or £500 were never granted. The two main stipulations were that the account must be an active one and that interest need be paid only on the extent of the actual

amount of the loan utilised by the borrowing customers of the bank. By virtue of their note-issue privilege which served to fulfil the function of capital, the cash credit system could easily be extended with the result that the middling and poorer classes of society have become more frugal and industrious and have turned into reliable citizens. Mac Leod says, "What Nile is to Egypt so is the cash credit or banking system to Scotland a fertiliser." Most of the countries situated in similar straits can easily adopt this system. So long as there is no abuse of this privilege the system is bound to confer benefit on society.

Thirdly, the system indicates the possibilities underlying the sound development of banking. If perfect currency is to be achieved in any country it can only be by wise management of the same by scrupulously honest and efficient bankers who take every possible endeavour to encourage small depositors' savings.

Next, efforts are always made to encourage the deposit of small savings accounts. No cheque operations will be permitted on these accounts and the top limit is fixed at £200 for any one year. Instead of deposit accounts they will afford new pass-books. Such means increase the opportunities for savings. These depositors become interested in the success and stability of the bank. By making the bank share a popular investment with the people there was no ruin or panic ensuing as a result of the above two tendencies. All classes of people have their interests wedded to that of the bank. The shareholder acts as the policeman or guardian of the credit of the bank. The greater the number of such custodians of the bank credit the greater would be the support rendered to it by the well-meant actions of these people. The publication of a well-informing balance-sheet also goes far in winning the approbation of the depositors and customers of the banks.

Finally, there is thorough co-operation amongst the major half dozen banks that exist in Scotland. Inter-bank dealings are settled by an accepted and predetermined tariff drawn up in concert and adjusted from time to time by mutual consent.

The rates of discount, interest and commission are uniform and illicit competition is therefore eschewed altogether from the field.

It is easy then to understand the salient lessons which any country can learn from the well-spread character of Scottish banking.

Firstly, the best method of securing success for a banking institution is to see that the capital of the bank is held by well-to-do men who can afford to patronise the bank. The Scottish banks are owned by a large number of small capitalists who stand widely diffused amongst the different members of the society. Even small deposits are taken care of with the result that bank depositors increase. Social production is increased thereby. When every attempt is being made to increase the usefulness of banks the encouragement of the deposit habit on the part of the small savers should not be forgotten. Other methods such as Government guarantee of deposits are bound to be less useful than this expedient which the Scottish banks have hit upon. The Government guaranteeing of deposits has indeed its own merits. The prevention of individual distress in case of bank failures, the mitigation of withdrawals of deposit in times of panic or run and the counteraction of the hoarding tendency would ensue as a direct result of goverment guarantee of bank deposits. The attendant disadvantages are so very many that the strong are made to pay for the weak, loose and careless banking methods. The sound and conservative bankers would be at a disadvantage and instead of this piece of doubtful wisdom it would be better to prevent bank failures rather than concentrate one's attention on the payment of depositors after a failure of the bank.

Secondly, the Scottish banks have driven private banks or money-lenders from a position of supreme importance in the money market to an almost neglected corner. If the real object of our legislators is to drive out the usurious capitalistic money-lenders it can only be done by big banks extending their business all over the country. Their organic growth is so wisely developed and shaped that there is no piling up of credit in a few burning danger-spots without demanding and starving outlying provinces.

Thirdly, real co-ordination of activities can be forthcoming only as a result of uniform tariff for inter-bank services. The standardisation of such charges would remove illicit competition from the field. The relationship of powerful banks towards each other would otherwise be unsatisfactory. Collectively their attitude towards the public does not raise any acute and controversial problems connected with the accommodation of banking credit. The policy of handling, apportioning and administering credit is no longer wrapped in mystery and it is constantly drawn up with a view to satisfy the national needs and wider economic interests of the country.

The following table shows the circulation of Notes of the Scottish banks. (During the *four weeks ended Soiurday,* June 27, 1931.)

| Name of the Bank | Authorised circulation | Average circulation during four weeks ended as above | | | Average amount of Bank of England Notes and Coins held during 4 weeks ended as above. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £5 and upwards | under £5 | Totals | |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| 1. Bank of Scotland | 396,852 | 1,271,744 | 1,858,294 | 3,130,668 | 3,031,911 |
| 2. Royal Bank of Scotland. | 216,451 | 1,085,080 | 1,779,121 | 2,864,201 | 2,973,441 |
| 3. British Linen Bank. | 438,024 | 961,397 | 1,776,445 | 2,737,842 | 2,648,733 |
| 4. Commercial Bank of Scotland. | 374,880 | 1,273,121 | 1,991,624 | 3,264,745 | 3,235,177 |
| 5. National Bank of Scotland. | 297,024 | 888,632 | 1,383,149 | 2,271,781 | 2,202,451 |
| 3. Union Bank of Scotland. | 454,346 | 1,081,141 | 1,373,299 | 2,454,440 | 2,455,383 |
| 7. North of Scotland Bank. | 224,452 | 1,086,702 | 1,094,712 | 2,181,414 | 2,141,684 |
| 3. Clydesdale Bank. | 274,321 | 977,026 | 1,550,304 | 2,527,380 | 2,887,057 |
| TOTAL | 2,676,350 | 8,624,893 | 12,807,528 | 21,432,471 | 21,245,838 |

Finally the use of the small notes has contributed towards the success of the Scottish bank's business. There would be no danger so long as it is not abused. When notes are issued in due response to public demand the safety of bank currency is assured already. Governmental inspection or any other legislation would not be needed under such circumstances to secure banking safety. As in Canada where the advantages of multiple note-issue are amply borne out by the circumstances of the country so also in Scotland the small notes have enabled the banks to extend their help to the different people placed in different circumstances of life. The economy of precious metals is after all an insignificant advantage when compared with the elastic currency that is issued by the banks. The real remedy for monetary ills is properly secured bank note currency. Monetary reconstruction tantamounts to the development of the bank currency which is sound, safe and efficient at the same time. This is true undoubtedly in all credit societies. When will India learn this lesson ?

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

# BENGALI STAGE AND DRAMA

The earliest forms of drama in Bengal were known as the 'Yatras' which were theatrical performances of a popular nature in which the song-element preponderated. The subject-matter was generally taken from religion, mythology and popular history and almost all the ingredients were mixed up together. The platform for such performances was an open-air one, sometimes in the 'Natmandir,' but generally in the courtyards, and no scenic apparatus was used, though dresses suitable to the *dramatis personae* were requisitioned. The stage idea was entirely unknown. It is a matter of speculation why inspite of the influence of Sanskrit literature drama did not grow up in Bengal. Of course the inherent tendency of the Bengali mind has been towards the poetic and the idealistic rather than to the spectacular and the showy and therefore in the popular dramas songs were in abundance leaving little scope for dialogue. The lyrical vein in the Bengali Yatras was moreover fostered by Vaishnava poetry.

There was a vast body of Yatra-literature in Bengal beginning from the pre-Vaishnava period. The *Gita-Govinda* is considered as a Yatra or miracle play in Sanskrit.[1] Unfortunately as printing came into vogue in Bengal only in the last century the earliest Bengali yatras have been lost. Those that have been handed down to modern generations belonged to the last century and they are not the best representative works of the writers of Yatras. It has been opined by a learned critic that the Yatras degenerated.[2] But perhaps it was a case of decay due to lack of proper encouragement and want of patronage rather than a case of natural death. Even now the Yatra exists though in

[1] N. K. Chattopadhyay, The Yatras or Popular Dramas of Bengal, 1882, pp. 44-45.

[2] S. K. De, Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, p. 453.

the lingering state of a tubercular patient and it has lost much of its former simplicity.

Some people are inclined to think that the Yatra was full of crude and undeveloped dramatic elements. The Yatra had certainly its defects but it had its brighter side also. Even a scholar and religious reformer like Sri Chaitanya tried to popularise his religious teachings through these plays and himself joined in dramatic performances.[1] As the early Dionysian plays preceded the drama of Greece, as the Mystery, Miracle, Morality and Interlude plays preceded English Drama, so did the Yatra herald modern Bengali Drama. E. P. Horrwitz is perhaps right when he says, "The revival in Bengal was religious as well as dramatic; the fermentation worked silently, but was powerful enough to infuse new life into the forsaken temples and antiquated theatres of India."[2] One should not of course expect to find in these plays the high literary qualities of the great Indian dramatists. For a long time they continued to afford innocent and cheap recreation to the masses. They educated the general public who were ignorant of higher knowledge by bringing before their minds aspects of religion and history in a popular light. They instilled an education into those who did not understand the deeper truths of philosophy and religion. They popularised these sentiments in everyday life. They might have been often on hackneyed subjects but that did not in any way lessen their popularity. Their influence on the literary side of Bengali drama at present is scanty but in some form or other they still continue to influence the Bengali theatre. Our theatres are not yet free from the imperceptible elements of the Yatras. The theatre-going public demand songs, comic scenes, dances, funny situations and incident-elements in which Yatras abounded. It has been suggested that the death-knell of the old drama was rung with the coming of dramas on European

[1] Lochandas, Chaitanya Mangal, Madhya Khanda.
[2] The Indian Theatres, p. 176.

models.[1] On closer study one finds, however, that the old Yatra has assimilated much of the new drama and put on a new garb. Its spirit may be old but its form in certain respects is new. It has imbibed some of the elements of the modern drama. The Swadeshi Yatras of Mukunda Das are very popular and instructive and show a clever combination of old and new elements. In the villages of Bengal the Yatras find ready and eager audiences. The time has come when there should be a revival of the older dramatic forms like the Yatras, Kathakatas, Pañchalis, etc. That would perhaps be possible in Bengal when she has her own national stage. There was once a movement in Bengal for a Bengali National Stage. But that proposal evaporated like many other paper transactions in Bengal.

No specimen of any regular dramatic work in Bengali is available before the translation of a Sanskrit play named *Chaitanya Chandrodaya* of Paramananda Sen, who belonged to the 15th century, by a Vaishnava poet Premdas in 1712.[2] Two other works are also mentioned by some authorities—*Jagannath Ballav* by Lochandas and *Radha Krishna Lila Kadamba* by Jadunandandas.[3] All these are in the ' payar ' metre and contain comments of the translators.

Prior to the rise of the modern Bengali drama it would be necessary to examine the gradual development of the Bengali stage as there has always been a growing demand for new types of plays along with the growth of theatres. The earliest European settlers of Calcutta did not give up their own amusements, entertainments and festivities. The foreigners have their own concerts, balls, theatricals and public recreations.[4] The author of Calcutta : Old and New, says, " In the matter of theatres, old

1 Dr. S. K. De, Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, p. 453.

2 S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 257; D. C. Sen, Bangabhasa O Sahitya, p. 304.

3 Viswakosh, Part IX.

4 Good Old Days of the John Company, Vol. I, Ch. IX; Kathleen Blechynden, Calcutta : Old and New, Ch. IV.

Calcutta was well-supplied, but their quality does not seem to have kept pace with their quantity."[1] So early as 1775 there was a playhouse near Lalbazar which was called simply the Theatre and had among its patrons Warren Hastings, Sir Elizah Impey and other distinguished officers in the East India Company's service. The earliest Calcutta theatres were owned by the foreigners but these were taken as models by Bengalis when the need was felt for a Bengali stage. The successive presence in Calcutta of a large number of playhouses gave an impetus to Bengali theatrical enterprise and attracted the interest of the Bengali public to this new type of amusement.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries among some of the more well-known English theatres in Calcutta were Mrs. Bristowe's Theatre (1787) and the Bengali Theatre (1795). The latter playhouse had an interesting history. In 1787 a Russian adventurer named Herasim Lebedeff came to Calcutta. With the assistance of a Bengali teacher he learnt some of the Indian vernaculars such as Bengali, Hindi, etc., and with the permission of Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), the then Governor-General, founded a theatre near old Chinabazar (then known as Domtullah) and staged two plays in Bengali : *the Disguise* (1795) and *Love is the Best Doctor* (1796) translating them from English. Sir George Grierson says, "They would seem to have been the earliest adaptations of European dramatic form to the Bengali stage."[2] Lebedeff's own account of himself would certainly be of interest. He writes, "I translated two English dramatic pieces, namely, the Disguise and Love is the Best Doctor, into the Bengali language; and having observed that the Indians preferred mimicry and drollery to plain grave solid sense, however purely expressed, I therefore fixed on these plays, and which were most pleasingly filled with a group of watchmen, chokeydars, savoyards,

[1] H. E. A. Cotton, Calcutta : Old and New, p. 152.

[2] Calcutta Review, October, 1927; *ibid*, November, 1923.

camera thieves, ghoonia; lawyers, gumosta; and among the rest a corps of petty plunderers." [1]

In 1798 two theatres, the Calcutta and Wheeler Place, managed by Europeans are heard of. Before 1808 there was a theatre at Chandannagore and in 1812 there was one known as the Athenaeum in the Circular Road. In 1815 there was one at Kidderpur and before 1817 Dum Dum had a theatre of which the star-actress was Mrs. Esther Leach who afterwards joined the famous Chowringhee and Sans Souci theatres. The Boithokkhana theatre had a well-known actress, Mrs. Cohen.[2] But the most important public theatre in Calcutta was the Chowringhee theatre originally founded in 1813 as the Private Subscription Theatre and firmly consolidated in 1815. It was located in the street now known as the Theatre Road. A fire destroyed it in 1839.[3] But throughout its years of existence it exerted an influence not only on the European community of Calcutta but also upon the Bengali public. Horace H. Wilson and Captain D. L. Richardson were two of its most prominent patrons. Plays like Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, Otway's *Venice Preserved* were performed. The Sans Souci (1841), another well-known theatre of Calcutta was famous in its own day.[4] It was located in the same building which is now occupied by the St. Xavier's College.[5] All these playhouses influenced the rise of the Bengali theatres and served as models to enterprising Bengalis.[6]

One of the first theatrical performance of a Bengali play was the staging of *Vidya Sundar* at the house of a gentleman at

[1] Preface to "A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed Indian Dialects, Methodically arranged at Calcutta" by Herasim Lebedeff (1801).

[2] Cotton's date of this theatre is 1824 while the author of the Good Old Days of the John Company gives it as 1827, *ibid*, p. 135, Vol. I.

[3] Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 177; Sir Evan Cotton, A Hundred Years Ago: Calcutta in 1830, Statesman, 4th May, 1930.

[4] Bengal Past and Present, 1907, pp. 22-26; *ibid*, 1908, p. 497, "The Sans Souci and its Star," Asiatic Journal, 1841, Vol. II.

[5] Sir Evan Cotton, Supreme Court Memories (XII).

[6] Calcutta Review, January, 1924, Bengali Theatre, p. 109.

Shyambazar. Women of the town were enlisted to play the rôle of women. The date of this performance is not certain. It was either in 1831 or 1833.[1] *Vidya Sundar* however was more a play of an undeveloped type than a regular drama. In those days there was dearth of good Bengali dramas and naturally the educated community satisfied their taste by performing English plays and looked up to English drama for models for their own plays. In 1832 the Hindu Theatre was pioneered by Prosonno Kumar Tagore with Wilson's translation of the *Uttar Ruma Charita*. There was a special fascination also in the staging of dramas in English. The glamour of Derozio and Richardson's name was at its height and on the encouragement of Richardson the students of the Hindu College began their debuts with dramatic performance of English plays. Richardson infused into the minds of young Bengali scholars the idea of imbibing and assimilating the real spirit of English drama through a first-hand study of the plays of Shakespeare. Thus could some of the best intellects of Bengal introduce some of the best things of foreign literatures into the literature of their land.[2] For some years more English plays were performed by Bengali youngmen of Calcutta under the guidance of Wilson, Richardson and Herman Jeffroy, Principal of the Oriental Seminary. But the days of English plays were soon over. The Bengali drama was taking its own course towards a definite shape under the influence of Western culture. There was at the outset some feeling of opposition shown by Sanskrit Pundits of the old school but gradually that spirit disappeared and men well-versed in the literature of the West turned their energies to the creation of Bengali dramatic literature. "I shall look to the great dramatists of Europe for models," wrote Michael M. S. Dutt to his friend Rajnarayan Bose. But it was a Pundit of the Sanskritic school who wrote the first modern drama in Bengali.

[1] *Ibid*, December, 1923, p. 382; January, 1924, p. 110.
[2] *Ibid*, January, 1926, p. 128.

Ramnarayan Tarkaratna's *Kulin Kula Sarbaswa* (1854) which was a criticism of the custom of polygamy is generally regarded as the first Bengali drama in its modern sense.[1] It was divided into regular acts but not in the Sanskrit sense.[2] Some other plays by Tarkaratna contain 'scenes' in the English sense of the term. Two other Bengali plays which deserve some attention were "*Bhadrarjun*" of Tara Chand Sikdar and "*Bhanumati Chittavilas*" of Hara Chandra Ghose. The second one was an imitation of *The Merchant of Venice*. These were not staged at all. Written between 1850 and 1854 they mark the initial stage of Bengali drama.

In March, 1857, *Kulin Kula Sarbaswa* was staged at the house of Joyram Bysak and it was repeated later on at the residence of Gopaldas Sett on the encouragement of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.[3] With this play begins the days of the modern Bengali drama. The new band of writers totally dispensed with the prelude of Sanskrit plays and introduced scenes in each act. This is a characteristic of the Romantic drama of Europe and was in direct contravention of the ancient classical rules of the Sanskritists. Though written by a Sanskrit scholar it could not escape the spirit of the times and the very subject-matter was a strong condemnation of the obnoxious custom of marrying many wives. It was a timely protest against a social vice that had long held society like an octopus and this voicing of public sentiment was one of the effects of a new outlook upon literature. The drama was not only a source of enjoyment. It aimed at public morality also.[4]

The next important event in the history of the Bengali stage was the inauguration of the Vidyotsahini Theatre by Kali Prasanna Singha in 1857. A rich Calcutta landholder, he was

[1] R. W. Frazer, Literary History of India, p. 414.

[2] Bengal Literary Conference Report, Vol. XIV, p. 35.

[3] R. W. Frazer's date of this performance is 1858. A different date is given in *Calcutta Review*, December, 1923. "Early History of the Bengali Stage."

[4] *Cf.* Sir Henry A. Jones, Foundations of a National Drama, Lecturer I, III.

a patron of learning and his grandfather Joy Krishna Singh was one of the founders of the Hindu College and one of its first Indian directors. Ramnarayan Tarakaratna's translation of *Beni Saṃhar* opened the first night, 9th April, 1857. In the month of November of the same year a free translation of *Vikramorbasi* was staged. One of the leading Calcutta periodicals commented on this performance in glowing words.[1] Journalists in those days included men of culture like Girish Chandra Ghose, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mukherji and Kristo Das Pal. The official circle in Calcutta including Sir Cecil Beadon often encouraged the players with their presence. Though Sanskrit plays in translation were performed at this theatre they were considerable improvements upon the originals and plenty of additions and alterations were made to correspond with the growing needs of the time. Gorgeous scenic apparatus, costly robes, valuable jewels and ornaments and a lot of other paraphernalia were used. The crowd had not yet invaded the theatres. The organisers never catered to the taste of the mob or the rabble, people with little intellectual or artistic sense, people who come to the theatres and go away with no ideas and whose presence is for mere amusement and frivolity. But such unhappy days were to come with the rise of the public theatres and professional dramatic companies. There was an occasion when theatrical performances were banned among the students by the University authorities. The audience at theatrical shows in Kali Prasanna's days resembled the glorious days of Elizabethan drama when a Sidney and a Raleigh reclined on their velvet cloaks and listened to plays performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Company.

1 'A peculiar characteristic of our theatricals is the absence of dramatic opening, which belongs to the romantic school of modern drama. The writer brought forth in course of his comment comparisons of some passages in the play with the scriptural vision of Elizah's ascension to Heaven, the agony of Milton's Adam at the loss of Eve, the tender emotion of Hamlet's soliloquy and the moralization of Lear's Fool while mocking at his sorrow."—Hindu Patriot, December, 3, 1857.

But people were not altogether satisfied with translations and adaptations. They felt the necessity of works of original merit. Such dramatic works required playwrights with good intellectual equipment. They also needed a place where such plays could be performed. The Belgachia theatre which was founded in 1858 as a permanent stage soon became the centre of fresh dramatic enterprises. The prime movers were Rajas Iswar and Pratap Chandra Singha of Paikpara and Maharajah Jatindra Mohan Tagore. It was here in 1859 that Madhusudan Dutt's *Sarmistha* (1858) was staged for the first time. This play was a direct revolt from Sanskrit rules and conventionalities of dramaturgy. "If I should live to write other dramas, you may rest assured, I shall not allow myself to be bound by the dicta of Mr. Viswanath of Sahitya Darpan," wrote Madhu to a friend.[1] Though the plot was taken from Indian mythology, the presentation was entirely new and the author wrote to one of his intimate friends :

" I am aware, my dear fellow, that, there will, in all likelihood, be something of a foreign air about my drama, but if the language be not ungrammatical, if the thoughts be just and glowing and the plot interesting, the characters well maintained, what care you if there be a foreign air about the thing? Do you dislike Moore's poetry because it is full of Orientalism, Byron's poetry for its Asiatic air, Carlyle's prose for its Germanism? Besides remember that I am writing for that portion of my countrymen who think as I think, whose minds have been more or less imbued with Western ideas and modes of thinking, and that it is my intention to throw off the fetters forged for us by a servile admiration for everything Sanskrit."[2]

In 1858, Madhusudan wrote *Padmavati*, the plot of which was based on the Greek tale of the Apple of Discord. He gave

[1] Letter, dated 15th May, 1860, to Rajnarayan Bose. To Gourdas Bysack he wrote, ' I promise you a play that will astonish the old rascals in the shape of the Pandits."

[2] Letter to Gourdas Bysack.

the Western story a Hindu garb but the Western atmosphere could not be entirely hidden in the Eastern surrounding and background. The changes are apparent. Juno, Venus, Paris, Helen and Discordia were transformed respectively into Sachi, Rati, Indrani, Padmavati and Narad. Pallas Athene appeared as the Yaksha Queen Muraja. Of this play Dutt said, "This drama of mine must contain some foreign atmosphere about it. To Rajnarayan Bose he wrote, "As a jolly Christian youth, I don't care a pin's head for Hinduism. I love the grand mythology of our ancestors. It is full of poetry. A fellow with an inventive head can manufacture the most beautiful things out of it." But the first tragic play in Bengali did not come till 1861 when Michael wrote his *Krishnakumari*. While engaged in writing this play he wrote to Keshab Chunder Ganguly, "As for the language the drama to be written in, I shall follow Dr. Johnson's advice:—'If there be,' says he, 'what I believe there is in every nation a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to the analogy and principles of its respective language, as to remain settled and unaltered, this style is to be probably sought in the common intercourse of life, among those who speak only to be understood, without the ambition of elegance.' And he commends Shakespeare for having adopted this language ; and this advice I mean to adopt except where the thoughts rise high of their own accord and clothe themselves with loftier diction, and that will be in the more Tragic parts of the play."

But amateur dramatic writing could not go on for ever if the permanence and stability of the stage were desired. If drama were to make any real headway and advance, the professional playwright was needed who could write first-rate works which could be staged with success. It was in Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844-1912) that the artistic and histrionic faculties, the talents of the author and the actor, the capability of the manager and the dramatist were combined and he marks another

period in Bengali drama and stage enterprise. Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-73) was an earlier writer of drama. One of the first English-educated writers in Bengali, he began his literary career with a work of far-reaching consequence. The *Nil Darpan* (1860) on which his fame generally rests is a dramatic representation of the tragic episodes of the eventful period of indigo disturbances in Bengal. The interest of the play lies not only in its literary value but also in its demonstration of the fact that drama had a great social and political value, a value hitherto very little known and seldom the motive of Indian plays. This was a great gain, this educative value of drama, drama as the means of inculcating lessons to society, or as a vehicle of ventilating social and political grievances and as a platform from which to ridicule abuses in social and moral life. The influence of *Nil Darpan* on the Bengali public was exactly like that of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in America. It filled the land with outcries against Indigo planters as the wrongs done by them to the cultivators were openly exposed. It was remarked by an English critic that the play shows "an imperfect reading of the spirit of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and the *Merchant of Venice*." But this criticism is unfounded. His next work *Nabin Tapaswini* is at times reminiscent of the *Winter's Tale* so far as the main plot is concerned. In character-making Dinabandhu is indebted to Shakespeare. Falstaff, Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* have been transformed into Jaladhar, Mallika, and Malati. In 1865, another play, *Biye Pagla Buro*, was written which is an imitation of Ben Jonson's comedy, *Epicoene*. But there is a slight deviation from the original in the depiction of the old man mad after marriage. He does not, like Morose, dread every kind of noise and hubbub. The marriage hoax is common to both and the disguise of a boy as bride is changed in Dinabandhu's play to something more suiting Bengali taste. But there are instances of occasional vulgarity and indecency in his plays, probably the effects of the influence of some Elizabethan and Restoration dramatists.

Moreover he was a follower of Iswar Gupta in his literary methods. *Sadhabar Ekadashi* (1866) was a tirade against intemperance and incontinence. Dinabandhu echoed the strong feeling against intemperance shared by many people in his days. Pyari Chand Mitra had written some years back his sketch of drunkards, *Mada Khaoya Bara Daya* (1868). The most interesting character in this play is Nim Chand Dutt, a moral rake who has become a favourite stage-character since his first appearance. He seems to have been an echo of the moral rakes who figure so prominently in 18th century English drama. One of the curious products of a smattering of Western education, this type of character was common in those days in Calcutta society and in farces and social sketches of the period one comes across many such specimens of contemporary Bengali life visualised. The comedy of manners had a good imitator in Dinabandhu. His plays contain all the traits of that school—both good and bad. Slang, gossip, conversation verging upon indecency, social evils, contemporary manners, conversational style, personification of typical characters characterise them.

Bankim Chandra was of opinion that Dinabandhu was not successful in the treatment of his characters as he was too much influenced by English literature. He did not have many living ideals before him and hence sometimes his characters have been lifeless and unnatural. But Dinabandhu combined to a great extent and with a fair amount of success both realism and idealism. His "Ghatiram Deputy" and "Kenaram," his Nimchand and Bholachand are real and vivid. Many of his works show a great deal of freedom of thought which has only been possible in the present age—the period of Western influence. Men are allowed to think and write in their own way. Every shade of opinion is free to be expressed and men have liberty of thinking. There is a spirit of enquiry, independence of thought and spirit of criticism. In a country repressed with conventions and rigmarole customs

handed down from generation to generation this was a new departure.

The Jorasanko Theatre, a private and amateur stage, managed by the members of the family of Debendra Nath Tagore, performed several plays adapted from Moliere by Jyotirindra Nath Tagore, who was also a writer of some historical and patriotic plays. These are, *Puru Vikram*, *Sarojini Natak*, *Asrumati*, *Sapnamyi*. Here Rabindranath's earliest dramatic writings were acted. Farces and operas were well-known features of this theatre. The public theatres took up operas at a much later date. Of course the Jorasanko Theatre was not the pioneer in staging farces. The Pathuriaghata Theatre of Jatindra Mohan Tagore staged several farces in 1865 which were written by Jatindra Mohan. Between 1872 and 1873 Ardhendu Sekhar Mustafi staged some farces as repartees to a number of satires performed by Mr. Dave Carson in the Opera House at Chowranghee, which were known as *Dave Carson Sahib Ka Pucka Tamasha*. It is therefore clear that the Bengali theatrical companies had a vigilant eye upon what was done by Europeans of the same profession in Calcutta.

Private theatrical enterprise inaugurated under the influence of English theatres, however, could not satisfy the growing demand of the public for a permanent stage, the beginnings of which can be traced to the Baghbazar Theatrical Company's performances, arranged in 1867 by Girish Chandra Ghosh. This amateur company was the nucleus of the first Bengali public company of actors. In 1871 it assumed the name of the National Theatre. As a matter of certainty of accommodation free tickets were issued by the management. The first regular sale of tickets was made on the 7th December, 1872, when the first public performance of *Nil Darpan* was held in Calcutta. This event " was a red letter day in the history of the Bengali stage, for it marked the commencement of a new era which completely did away with the amateur character of the Bengali Theatre." No women were however engaged for acting the characters of women. But the National Theatre was closed in March, 1873,

The Grand National Theatre which came into existence in 31st December, 1873, engaged women for feminine rôles. Public antipathy towards the employment of women in public theatres was not at all strong at this time. A large number of theatres came in the successive years—the Oriental and Lyceum Theatres, the Beadon Street Star Theatre (1833), the Hatibagan Star Theatre (1888), the Emerald (1888), the Minerva (1893), the Classic (1897), the Kohinoor (1907), many of them under the direction of Girish Chandra Ghosh. But some of these had a short existence.

From the comedy of manners of Dinabandhu to the mythological and religious plays of Girish is another step in the history of Bengali drama. The comedies of Dinabandhu had served their purpose and there was once more a revival of plays in which the mythological and religious elements were the main factors. Men were tired of plays on other themes. They had too much of them already. Girish was a disciple of Ramkrishna Paramhansha Deva. Dakhineswar played and important part in directing the cultural life of Bengal in the last quarter of the 19th century. It was the spiritual home of a band of workers headed by Swami Vivekananda whose services to their country was of a very high order—culturally and spiritually. On the opposite bank of the Ganges Swami Vivekananda founded his monastery at Belur and from this place he sent forth to the world at large his bosə msage of neo-Hinduism, Hindu thought and culture. Girish did not escape this thought-current and his writings were streaked with ideas imbibed at the feet of his Guru. There was at that period the stir of a new life in Hindu society, a new zeal for Hindu religion. Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachuramani and Paribrajak Krishna Prasanna Sen were lecturing on Hinduism and the country was flooded with new enthusiasm. Men were attracted to the faith of their forefathers. The drama as a reflexion of national life and character expressed this ferment. In the works of Girish Hindu ideals were highly extolled.

Girishchandra wrote nearly ninety dramatic works—tragedies, comedies, farces, operas, masques, allegories. When a book-keeper at the firm of Messrs. Atkinson Tilton he translated *Macbeth* but the manuscript was somehow lost. But in 1893 he made a Bengali version of this play and staged it at the Minerva Theatre. On this occasion he employed English artists for scenic arrangements and stage-decorations. His knowledge of Shakespearean drama and criticism was very deep and some of his writings on Acting and Actors are of a high standard. His early works were more like Yatras and he popularised the opera to an extent hitherto unknown. He wrote himself many operas thus naturalising an entirely new branch of dramatic art. During the period of his Hatibagan Star Theatre acitivities two dramas, *Buddhadeva Charita* and *Chaitanya Lila,* were written under foreign inspiration. The first was based on Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* and the second was inspired according to his own admission by *Paradise Regained.*[1] He discussed social problems in his dramas. But it was not after the model of the drama of Ibsen or other European dramatists that he tried to examine social problems. The greatest service of Girish was that he made the Bengali theatre a popular institution, a democratic body, not dependent upon the patronage of rich Rajahs and Zaminders but selfreliant. Since his time the profession of the actor has been held in more respect though some odium still clings to it. Girish often lamented that people looked down upon his profession. But he has become since then a national object of pride and honour. He made possible the rise of a distinct class of playwrights and players. Hitherto the layman amidst his other vocations was in the habit of writing dramas, but now the dramatist is a person whose sole business was playwriting.

We now pass on to the new type of plays known in West as Symbolical plays, the most well-known representatives of

[1] Life of Girishchandra by Upendranath Vidyabhusan, p. 41, Footnote.

which are the works of W. B. Yeats, A. E. Synge, and Maeterlinck. The Indian mind is peculiarly spiritual. There is a mystic element in the poetic genius of Indians. Rabindranath Tagore is endowed with a rich share of this ancient heritage of his land, but it is quite likely that he expresses his ideas after the manner of the Symbolists of Europe. He has a close affinity with W. B. Yeats who introduced the poet to the Western world and who wrote an introduction to the English *Gitanjali*. The Symbolical drama in Bengali of which he is the best writer is however limited only to to the private stage. The general public are not yet ready for it nor in a position to understand the meaning hidden under the surface. Most of the plays of Tagore have been performed by members of his family or by the pupils of his Shanti Niketan School under his personal instructions. There is no division of the plays into regular acts and scenes. There are no stage directions, nor any suggestion as to the use of scenic apparatus. Everything is plain and simple to look at. In the Symbolical plays of Tagore there is the same dreamy atmosphere, etherealized landscape, spiritual background, vague suggestions, weird beauty, aloofness from the material world as in the plays of Yeats (*cf. Shadowy Waters*) and Synge (*cf. Deirdre of the Sorrows*). In them more is meant than meets the ears.

The Symbolical play has brought with it the Problem play the best examples of which in the West are some of the works of Ibsen (*cf. Doll's House*), Hauptmann (*cf. the Weavers*), Galsworthy (*cf. Strife*), Strindberg (*cf. There are Crimes and Crimes*), Bernard Shaw (*cf. Candida*). Some of the plays of Tagore like the *Post Office* and *The King of the Dark Chamber* are strictly symbolical but in several plays he has mixed up symbolism with problem as in *Mukta Dhara* and *Rakta Karabi*. The form in these plays is symbolical but the matter is problematic. Society as it is constituted now is a vast complex body consisting of diverse conflicting elements and the modern dramatist has to approach the various problems and difficulties

that confront society with a view to arrive at some clear conclusion, not like the practical economist or the statistician with his list of facts and figures, nor like the crafty politician with his theories and formulas, but with the penetrating insight of a poet, the sympathetic attitude of a man intensely feeling for his fellow beings. His conclusions may be sometimes wrong as the literary mind is prone to be idealistic and inclined to dreaming. Yet he may on the other hand hit upon the right course with the intuition that is given to prophets and seers only.

Rabindranath's *Rakta Karabi* (Red Oleanders) is such a play. On the stage, one is afraid, it would not be much of a success, because the background can never be reproduced with the ordinary scenic arrangements, as a strange land looms large behind the action of play where wealth is the only consideration to the dwellers. Under the symbol of a mysterious Yaksha town where the inhabitants are but the parts of a relentless machine-administration bent upon making money, and where the people have no names but numbers to identify them, the dramatist has presented a striking picture of the existing warfare between Capital and Labour in the industrial world or as some critics think the grim fight between an irresponsible bureaucracy and a throttled democracy in the political field.[1] The air is so stifling and poisonous in the whole city that man cannot breathe free air; he is killed by the forces of modern civilisation and has to live there repressing all the finer emotions and instincts of human life. Equally true may be the suggestion that it represents a repressive government treading under its merciless heels with all its weapons of force a discontented people in the name of law and order. The play was written at a time when the political situation in Bengal was rather grave and serious and the Government was faced with a serious situation. It may not be wrong to suppose that the poet might have been led to apply the conditions in his country to the

[1] " Red Oleanders " by Professor Jaygopal Banerjee, Calcutta Review, October, November, 1925 and February, 1926.

shadowy realm of the awful ruler who never showed his face but always lived hidden under a curious network of hazy power. Politics is also the background of *Mukta Dhara* where the ideal of passive resistance finds a prominent exposition. In *Achalayatan* social affairs are given more importance. Hindu society with all its time-honoured laws and customs, its codified rules and rigorous penances for any deviation from these regulations, is the main object of Tagore's criticism.

The Soul Drama which is another outstanding feature of modern European drama has some examples in Bengali. Rabindranath's *King of the Dark Chamber* and *Post Office* may be taken as Soul Dramas. In *Post Office* there is the same kind of romantic yearning for something beyond human experience as in the *Land of Heart's Desire* of Yeats or the *Blue Bird* of Maeterlinck. There is some inexpressible mystery hovering about it which it is beyond the power of ordinary human sense to unravel. The human soul desires to mingle itself with the infinite and attain fulness. On the whole the influence of the contemporary drama of Europe on Bengali drama has not been very substantial. As yet the older drama occupies the imagination of the people. The time perhaps is not yet ripe for the matter-of-fact and realistic drama of Europe to be engrafted upon the soil of Bengal. Modern European drama is too outspoken, too bare, too bald, too cruel, too much shorn of the softer side of human nature to find a ready audience in Bengal. It is not that Bengali drama is devoid of any kind of realism. It certainly has a realism in it, but that realism is not the crude and sometimes hideous realism of European drama. Life in the West is more complex. European society has its own peculiar problems and therefore the dramatists of the West have various problems facing them at every step. The range of experience of Bengali dramatists is limited and restricted and as yet society and life in Bengal have not come to such an *impasse* that all our problems, needs and wants can be solved on the theatrical platforms.

The West has its banks, factories, divorce courts, night clubs, gambling dens, slums and juvenile courts. Barrack life in the big cities of Europe, hotel existence, life in apartments and boarding houses, enforced bachelor and maidenhood, bachelor-girls, and hosts of other things are the products of modern European civilisation, which depends much upon the machine for its comfort and happiness. In an industrialised atmosphere life is mechanised and the outlook for the future is sometimes dark to Western thinkers even. Therefore the problems that Western drama has to deal with to-day are numerous. From the romantic plays of the old type and the folk and peasant plays of Ireland, one finds the drama of ideas, the drama of naturalism, the drama of symbolism, the drama of the 'Eternal Triangle,' dramas dealing with woman-problems, sex, scenes from married life, divorce, love, social criticism plays of propaganda such as the press, relations between the rich and the poor, race antagonism, capital and labour, drama of satire, etc. (See Aspects of Modern Drama by F. W. Chandler, 1920 and Modern English Drama by A. E. Morgan.) Its subjects are peculiarly Western in nature and outlook and it would be too much to expect just now the reverberations of the same feelings and sentiments on the Bengali stage. But perhaps the time will come when such an occasion will arise. We cannot deny the fact that our social life has to some extent become disorganised owing to the impact from the West as well as from natural causes which has long been corroding its vitals. Timeworn and old-world ideas have no influence. The structure of society has become loose. The old joint family system has gone out of order. Our women are no longer content to remain as part of our moveable and immoveable property. There is a cry for "equal rights" in every sphere of activity. But these are till now on the surface or limited to a narrow circle of people. The innermost depths of society are still undisturbed and untroubled by new ideas. They live with the ideas of bygone ages. That is

perhaps one of the reasons why the realistic or the symbolical drama of Europe has not been popular in Bengal to any appreciable extent.

In certain respects Bengali drama, or more truly speaking Bengali stage, has not taken the fullest advantages of the study of European drama. The musical and melodramatic element is still very predominant in it as some vestige of the older drama which was mostly made up of music and songs still remains with it. Drama is less an histrionic art and more of highflown stylish travesty. The literary excellence is spoiled by indiscriminate singing, concert and orchestra-music and last but not the least of all, hotch-potch dancing of the most ill-bred type which is jarring upon the aesthetic sense. Lately there has been a tendency towards more simplicity and naturalness but it has not yet reached such a stage as to meet with universal approval and the organisers of this movement have supporters among the intellectual classes only. Bengali stage would have been cleared of much rubbish and drama would improve in Bengal if reforms on the lines suggested in England by Edward Gordon Craig and St. John Ervine were to be carried out.[1]

A marked tendency during recent years among dramatists has been to pay a little attention to historical accuracy. This began with D. L. Roy. But in some plays like Surendranath Banerjee's *Alexandar*, Apareshchandra Mukherjee's *Iraner Rani* and Nishikanta Basuray's *Lalitaditya* the anchronisms are too glaring. It can, of course, be said in defence of these writers that even Shakespeare was not very strict about historical accuracy and dramatic effects looked more to art than to history. The plays of Ben Jonson are not successful inspite of their historical precision. Critics clamouring for honesty in historical matters overlook the fact that art suffers where historical fidelity has to be observed.

[1] Edward Craig, Towards a New Theatre; Art of the Theatre; Ervine, The Organised Theatre.

National aspirations and sentiments have been instructively taught through the drama. Girischandra's historical drama *Mir Kasem, Chattrapati, Sirajudaullha* are full of patriotic fervour. Dwijendralal Roy's *Durgadas, Rana Pratap, Mewar Patna, Singhal Vijay* and Kshirodprasad Vidyavinod's *Pratapaditya* created sensations in the public mind. The influence of these plays is seen working on contemporary drama. But open-air theatres and popular dramas are in the throes of decay. The glitter of the gorgeous and pompous playhouse attract the imagination of the people and the ordinary people are thus losing the means of their enjoyment. They do not care for the claptrap of modern stage. They find no charm in it. Rabindranath truly says, "Operas based on legendary poems, recitations and storytelling by trained men, the lyrical wealth of popular literature distributed far and wide by the agency of mendicant singers—these are the clouds that help to irrigate the minds of the people with ideas which in their original form belonged to the difficult doctrine of metaphysics." [1]

The westernized modern drama of Bengal is for the town-bred people only.[2] The ordinary people preferred and still prefer their popular theatrical shows which make more appeal to them than the works of the learned who are out of touch with their feelings and sentiments. The modern drama appeals to the cultured and educated while the popular shows satisfy the cravings of the unlettered who form the bulk of the population. The modern playwrights do not belong to the commonalty. Most of them come from the upper or middle classes of society and as such they cannot deeply enter into the life of the common people. To write a play dealing with the impulses of the humble people living in villages is not an easy

[1] Viswa Bharati Quarterly, January 1, 1926—The Philosophy of Our People.

[2] Rabindranath Tagore—Modern Review, December, 1913, criticised the imitations in the theatres from the West. (The stage.) Norah Richards, European Influence on the Indian Stage, Modern Review, January, 1914, pleaded for purely Indian plays and not Europeanised versions of Indian Plays or Indianised versions of English ones.

task. The modern theatre has killed that instinct. Even if any attempt were made how far that would be successful is a matter of conjecture. Tagore has written dramas dealing with the characters of village headmen, milkmen, humble village singers, labourers and other ordinary folk but the performance of these plays are witnessed by the educated people while the people who form the characters in them will perhaps never have the opportunity of seeing or knowing anything about them and even if some day they are fortunate enough to do so the very symbolic presentation will stand in their way of understanding even the slightest part. Modern Bengali drama does not portray the life and manners, hopes and aspirations, desires and ideas of a vast majority of the people of Bengal and the modern stage is more responsible for such a state of affairs than anything else. As has been remarked by W. B. Yeats,—

"Our modern theatre, with the seats always growing more expensive and its dramatic art drifting always from the living impulse of life, and becoming more what Rossetti would have called, 'soulless self-reflections of man's skill' no longer gives pleasure to any imaginative mind." [1] and the same criticism might be appropriately applied to conditions in Bengal.[2]

JAYANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA

1 Plays and Controversies by W. B. Yeats, pp. 72-3.

2 The writer acknowledges with gratitude the suggestions and criticisms kindly offered by his teacher, Professor Jaygopal Banerjee, in the course of writing this article.

# THE POET, THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE PROPHET

Our activities of life, if we analyse them, divide into two types. In one of them we are dominated by the cry for quantity, and in the other we seem to be solicitous for the enrichment of quality. Of these, the former, because of its apparent connection with the necessity of existence, the need of mere living, is found to be universal in its range, while the latter, not being so connected, is often styled superfluous and appears in rare minds. The desire for quantity is natural enough, for herein lies the stuff of life. It is possible to play at other interests but the interest of life, of the bare maintenance of existence is considered absolutely imperative. This is why there goes on, throughout the world of creation, an incessant struggle for supplies without which life is shrivelled to death. Where every dose of available energy is used up in this struggle and when owing to the 'niggardly provision of a step-motherly nature' we are forced on the brink of starvation it becomes preposterous to think of qualitative embellishments. Let us work therefore to wrest from nature as much as we can. This is how we are taken up with the cry for quantity. We clamour for more,—more food, more clothing, and more other commodities in the hope that they will heighten the sense of our existence.

In this situation, when mankind has been induced to look upon quantitative augmentation as the basic foundation of life, it is not a little surprising that there should appear souls driven to seek life's inspiration from a different source, *viz.*, from the beauty of quality; and the lives of poets, philosophers and prophets all remind us how the cultivation of quality may go on along with and even in supersession of the craze for quantity. Nay, they go a step further; 'the necessity of living' which holds sway with the multitudes and imposes on them the rule of

quantity is in their eye no necessity at all. Rather they would forego the temptation of carrying forward this trail of existence than sign a writ of perpetual servitude to the reign of endless competition for the accumulation of quantity.

One has no doubt to reckon with the hard fact that without something, some form of material support, life cannot be sustained, but to argue from this to the need of ceaseless struggle in increasing the bulk and volume of the something is a deplorable perversion of logic. 'Mere living' is no good; it may be a necessity. But to transform a brute fact of necessity into an aspect of the good one ought to develop an attitude of freedom even with regard to what at first bears the stamp of necessity. In proportion as we are relieved of the keenness of the fight, the seriousness of the struggle, and seem capable of assuming a freer attitude does it become possible to enjoy and appreciate life's beauty and thus to enhance its value. With the possibility of appreciation and enjoyment of life, truly speaking, changes its rôle from a brute matter-of-fact existence into a thing of worth. The spirit that catches a glimpse of this aspect of value and keeping aside the more compelling concerns of the hour, can freely dedicate himself to raising the fineness and finish of the staff rather than extending its volume, alone knows the secret of life's goodness. He does not exist for the sake of mere existence, nor does he struggle for the sake of struggle prompted by a limitless greed of accumulation. He lives the life in joyful rest and recreation, inspired by a sense of the fulness of value of which life is capable.

To live in quest of the value to which life can be raised, and not for the mere matter of living presupposes cultivation of taste. In the absence of refinement of taste it is but natural to be lured into acceptance of whatever proves useful for the moment. To lay aside the useful, especially during the most trying stage of the journey becomes almost hopeless when one's being is wholly identified with the problem of getting on in the world. Whatever leads him out of the thick of the fight is welcomed

immediately. The talk of postponing the serviceable out of regard for judgment of taste is at this stage simply out of the question. Progress of refinement on the contrary is marked by the ability shown in casting aside the expedient in order that considerations of inward purity, of symmetry of form and beauty may find scope for play. To devote one's energies to such ends, even at the risk of losing the battle insistently pressing on him is a mark of great heroism. Whatever is good in poetry and philosophy is born of this spirit of heroism.

It is by no means easy to mark out the soil where such heroism thrives. It seems certain that a certain amount of detachment from the original, imperative call of bare existence is indispensable. One must refuse to throw himself completely, to lose his integrity as it were, in the current of affairs of life. He should float above the circumstances in which others are deeply sunk. Whatever proves vital to others is to him a mere trifle. It is so because he has tasted of the fine flavour of life in the ideal plane and is not troubled by the cares of mere 'getting and spending.'

The fact that matter-of-fact existence has no intrinsic worth connects with the playful spirit in which it is looked upon by poets and others. On the other hand the considerations which weigh with them are to the great majority of mankind simply effusions of childish fancy. To the men of the world what really matters is work,—hard strenuous fight in the living present. To dream of a rosy ideal future, out of touch with the present-day realities, is a sickening game, more particularly when the hardship of the present-day situation calls for speedy redress. To live in a world so full of thorns and miseries is glorious when one takes manfully to the fight of removing them in deed. In contrast to this how besotted seems the life of the visionary dreamer who, in the plea of seeking more lasting relief, runs away from the stress of the fight and lives under the shelter of the wall of self-begotten pictures. It is a sad commentary on our social organisation that the force of tradition could induce so

much of brain power to neglect the very serious business of life and thus be allowed to run to waste. Is it not vile, people are asking, to let a section of our race play when the burden of work presses so heavily on the shoulder of others ? So we find the modern age lapsing into the gospel of work and practice. Everywhere the cry of practicalism is making itself heard. It has taken such a complete possession of our minds that we have grown intolerant of everything that stands removed from the sphere of practice. Neglecting the ancient saying that action and reflection, doing and judging, work and enjoyment are alike needed for the 'sum of human perfection,' we have drifted towards an exclusive emphasis upon work alone.

A certain measure of truth, no doubt, attaches to the cult of practicalism. It is in the right when it raises its invectives against the temper of cynicism and sentimentalism that lie concealed under the seeming contemplative mood. But from this to make it a universal principle of life leads to consequences ruinous in the extreme. When we are asked to judge of men by their output of action alone, it is no wonder that we should advocate 'bare quantity of doing, independently of and without regard to any quality in what is done.' Surely it is the sign of a decadent age to allow quantity to enter into competition with quality. By such a device the mere doer of routine would soon outbid the inventiveness of the broad-minded seer, and the gospel of practice degenerate into a 'gospel of drudgery.'

A certain quantity of work is required for wholesome living. But to make it conducive to this end it ought to be performed with sweetness and grace. The solemn serious look with which action is begun is to be softened down and, if possible, enlivened by a sense of joy in the work. It is only in this wise that work serves the well-being of man. But joy in the work is impossible if the individual is fixed down, under foreign pressure, to every detail of the work. Far less being master of his work, he is so much enslaved in the details that the burden seems almost unbearable. This is how he grows into a drudge and becomes

an annoyance to others. The man who sells himself to his work and cannot rise above its limitations is a slave. And for a slave there can be no joy in work, for he lacks the humour of life,—the ability to play with the pettiness of details.

Play and humour may be rightly characterised as the sauce of life, for they show us how to enjoy life. Neither of these can grow so long as the tension of practicality is not released. In a sense poetry and philosophy alike are the outburst of this playful mood. In another sense, it is the gift of men deeply imbued with the poetic and philosophic vision,—that vision of the eternal in contrast with which everything of a local complexion fades into insignificance. The more we are given to the contemplation of the grandeur of this eternal verity, and the more our vision is unfolded to its superb beauty, the more do we grow in our power and freedom from the grip of the narrow actualities of life. Humour proceeds out of this freedom and in proportion to the growth of freedom is life made sweet and charming as play.

## II.

Inspite of this common aim there has been long-standing quarrel between poetry and philosophy; even the so-called religious temper could not keep aloof from the conflict. 'I am unable to distinguish between philosophy and religion,' cries out the English Dean, while from a different source came the remark, 'Poetry is the finer breath and spirit of philosophy.' It is evident there is an underlying affinity between the three. Yet the fact of their differences cannot be passed over. It is natural enough to suggest that the differences between poetry and philosophy relate primarily to forms: the one seeking to visualise the eternal in the temporal, while the other leaving behind the temporal in quest of the eternal. Owing to this poetry has all along claimed to be in touch with the concrete, whereas philosophy has been blamed for its fondness for abstractions. It is no use magnifying these commonplace differences.

The chief defect for which philosophy is held responsible is that it is too easily swayed by the quantitative standpoint and moves in the plane of objectivity. This is why so few turn to philosophy to seek inspiration for life. In fact philosophy does seldom place us at the central point of inwardness from which inspiration comes. These life-sustaining convictions come to men in flashes of insight, largely through the expansive force of imagination in which poets revel. Poetry is at home with life—its grandeur and glory, no less than its ugliness and suffering all float before the poet's mind in one undivided intuition. The fulness of vision to which the poet is elevated in moments of deepest sympathy confers on poetry the character of seamless unity with the real—not the broken fragmentary pieces floating before us in ordinary experience,—but the real made whole, its gaps and discontinuities being smoothed over in the glowing fervour of emotional enthusiasm. All genuine poetry is the outburst of feeling. "It is," as Mill says, "feeling confessing itself to itself." This is why inwardness,the mark of qualitative excellence, is so easily realised in poetry. Whatever suffices to convey the force of this wave of inner life without articulate effort is a fit symbol for poetic expression. The form of expression matters not the least, it is poetry if it touches the heart and calls forth the emotions. In poetry the poet and the audience are made into one—all separateness and externality being resolved into one indivisible rhythm of inner life.

But this point which contributes to the excellence of poetry is a blot in philosophy. To be swayed by the immediacy of the emotion, however exalted may be the vision it opens up, is unedifying for one endowed with reason. Reason demands clear-cut comprehension. The first step in the rationalising process consists in sundering the philosopher from the immediacy of the inner life. The spell of instinctive trust, so sweet, so soothing to the multitudes, breaks down at the touch of philosophy, and the innermost convictions of the heart, cut adrift from the warmth of emotional setting, are laid bare objectively

before the intellect for analytic dissection. The emptied impoverished philosopher's soul stands over against the unanalysed totality of the given and hastens to pull it to pieces, so that distinctions and relations of the parts may become transparent, and thus apprehended may be fitted to form into a perfectly symmetrical unit. Symmetry is undoubtedly the philosopher's quest. For it is the thought of 'eternal harmony abiding at the heart of endless agitation,' that sets the philosopher to his reflective operation. But the process of mediation which is expected to shed light of clearness upon the obscure is a deceptive function. Wherever the process stops there is left a residuum requiring further clarification. And as no limiting point can be reached there is no finality in philosophy. And so to regain the vision, thoroughly illumined by the light of knowledge, is more than what the human intellect can accomplish. Philosophy thus falls short of life,—a fact well illustrated in the temper of scepticism pervading the philosophic atmosphere. But the barren outlook of philosophy, far from dissuading the philosopher from his rationalising quest, spurs him on to more strenuous endeavour in the same direction, till at length it reduces itself to a sort of 'intellectual gymnastic.' Philosophy provides a speculative diversion, no more than that, whereas poetry fulfills the noblest aspirations of life. It sets in motion our deepest pathos, and lets us re-discover the lost moorings of life. 'For this reason,' as Dean Inge says, 'poetical imagination has been welcomed and given free play not only by the crowd who do not philosophise, but by some of the greatest thinkers.'

Yet it is wrong to assume that poetry is not a deceptive guide after all. It is but natural to get sick of the apparent anomalies and uglinesses of life, and to attempt to escape them in the soaring flights of imagination in some 'world far removed from ours.' But to yield to the flow of imagination in such an arbitrary fashion cannot but beget suspicion whether the whole movement is not a sheer subjective illusion conjured up to lull one into a temporary intoxication. Sheer fancy without

substance causes greater harm than good. In this respect philosophy proves far more wholesome than poetry. For philosophy always shows an eagerness to stand by the totality of experience,—to understand it in whole and to discover, through reflective analysis, those deep-lying elements with which life's blessings are bound up. The philosopher knows for certain that life's real strength comes from disillusionment. It is the light of truth that alone saves man from danger. If poetry tempts us to console ourselves with fancy-begotten pictures and abide complacently in the dreamland, heedlessly neglecting the power of the truth, it is better that we keep away from the poetic mood.

The life of truth-seeking to which the philosopher is dedicated rewards him in a way not open to the poet. Pursuit of truth is a bipolar function. At one end it connects us with the realm of objectivity and obliges us to start enquiries into the confines and constitution of the real. But at the other end it drives us within the interior of our being. Objective analysis stimulates a parallel development in the inner life of self-conscious spirit. The temper of testing and criticism, bound up with objective analysis leads to persistent self-searching to ascertain the conditions on which rational enjoyment rests. The self alone can determine the conditions of its inner peace. But no explicit knowledge of its structure implicated in these conditions is possible until the self is put on its trial in the midst of the objectively given. The gain in the intensity of self-consciousness is a necessary offshoot of the indefatigable search into the constitution of the given. The birth of self-conscious personality is a solid achievement in philosophy. Herein are centred the root-springs of all values, and with it is connected the growth of freedom and the power of enjoying life.

In the life of the poet there is no trace of such an unfolding of self-conscious personality. To question, to argue, to judge and decide is foreign to his nature. He is not worried in the least by that conception of harmony and peace which is won in the life of self-conscious personality by deliberate endeavour

involving patient labour and persistent self-searching. His vision of harmony and beauty is of the easy, spontaneous order, achieved through complete self-forgetfulness. The beauty of his life lies in self-effacement, making himself at one with the vastness of the universe, freely giving unto others what he might own himself.

The philosopher and the poet, the worshipper of truth and beauty, thus come to quarrel over the concept of personality,—the former demanding its intensification, the latter its annulment. The two interests appear discontinuous. The seeker of truth is afraid of being carried by the taste for beauty, and the lover of beauty finds no interest in listening to the dictates of logic. The irony is, none of them see the way to overcome this internal rift.

The glory of personality not infrequently tempts the philosopher to build for himself a pyramid of personal isolation, and use for self-edification a system of symbols not intelligible to others. The poet again in his zeal to live among all, to be in touch with humanity, unwittingly sinks into a baser level and finds his inward purity desecrated with dirt and filth. Unless it be possible to discover a point of view from which the interests in truth and beauty appear as continuous phases of one and the same process, it is no wonder that the philosopher should lie open to the charge of conceit, and the poet of sensualism.

The way to reconciliation is not altogether out of reach. If the pursuit of truth intensifies personality, it is nevertheless worth noting that devotion to truth, to the order of connections among objective facts is the surest way to wear out the sharp edges of individuality. Obedience to the same uniform system of laws disciplines life for the growth of a common life of fellowship and solidarity. On the other hand the thrill of joy which the perception of a continuous, all-pervasive rhythm sends to the poet's heart is enjoyable as a feeling in an isolated centre of personal existence. To be able to feel the poet must return to himself, dissociated from the crowd. Without the growth of

enlightened personality cultivation of poetic taste is out of the question. To the ugly, unenlightened soul, steeped in the darkness of ignorance, the whole world is ugly. Highest beauty is seen in the shining light of truth.

## III

In the reconciliation of the manifold interests of truth and beauty is indicated the value of the truly good life. The good life which embraces the principle of goodness in every sphere of activity alone holds the key to the solution of all controversies and perplexities. By his holy touch the good man purifies the life of truth-seeking of its apparent restlessness and conceit, and of the lover of beauty of his semi-conscious ease and sensualistic aberrations.

We shall be committing the gravest blunder if, in interpreting the nature of this good, we yield to the standpoint of objecttivity and identify it, in the usual manner, with some particular variety of commodity, such as health, wealth, wit or understanding. To none of these things, as Kant points out, does the quality of goodness appertain unconditionally. They are good or bad not because of them, but by reason of the spirit in which they are worked. The good lies in the attitude of life. It is the spirit that means the good to which alone goodness attaches. To quote the words of the great philosopher, 'Nothing can possibly be conceived in the world or even out of it, which can be called good without qualification except a good will. This good will is not to be identified with the formal, abstract aloofness from the things of the world, nor should we bring it in line with the temper of cold sullenness with which the self-possessed individual looks upon worldly possessions. It is the active energising will that works for the adjustment and harmonization of all the various interests of life in such a way that by their mutual co-operation the supreme joy of life is realised.

There is a widely current opinion that truth and beauty are considerations that constitute good in themselves. The will that wills the truth or beauty is even claimed to be superior to the will that wills the good. This is a fatal mistake. To will the good means to strive inwardly for self-purification which expresses itself outwardly in the sympathetic embrace with the fulness of life, in contrast with which the mere pursuit of truth or beauty are but partial affairs. In fact, truth and beauty in themselves, unless sanctified by the holy spirit, have a tendency to develop into unwholesome games.

And so we are led to question seriously whether truth and beauty can be regarded as good at all, far from being superior to the good will. To will the truth as a good in itself is either without meaning, or connected with a conception of truth misleading in the extreme. Those that pursue truth as an end in itself usually fall into the habit of thinking as if truth were an entity lying foreign to our being. They continue piling up accumulations of 'truths.' In their own way they undoubtedly prosper in the load of learning they carry, but in the absence of any vision of the good to which these 'truths' might be applied the interior of their being remains hollow. This is what is meant by the irreligious temper of seeking the truth.

Truth is a power not as a fact but as a value embodied in the fact. When we speak of truth we really refer to this inward significance of the fact—the highest quality of meaning to which the fact opens up. Truth is, in short, not the thing itself but rather the spirit of the thing. If the spiritual awakening does not take place there is no sense in pursuing the truth.

In a similar way it can be shown that the pursuit of beauty cannot be a good in itself. There is nowhere in this world what we might call pure beauty without an admixture of the ugly. The overcoming of this ugly aspect of things is also an affair of the spirit.

Truth and beauty are alike functions of the spirit—the spirit that moves, without bias or prejudice, to comprehend existence

in full harmony and order. To will this in pureness of love, is to will the good. The good will is not only good in itself, it is at once the embodiment of truth and beauty, and without it there is nothing that has either the one or the other. To the outside observer the good life is the all-embracing, all-inclusive life inspired by inward love of peace and amity, which puts everything in proper order without laying undue stress upon any single isolated consideration.

Such a life—if it can ever be realised—is the life of the saintly soul, whom we characterise as a prophet. His life proves superior to all because he wills to purify the will, and to invest his whole being with the sacred glow of inward holiness. The will-purification is a delicate operation. For it brings the will immediately in conflict with the self-will. 'Nothing burneth in hell, but the self-will.' The prophet's life means the consecration of his whole being to the noble mission of consuming the self-will. But unlike the way of the ascetic he does not take up arms against it with a view to extruding it or smothering it for a while. The idea of conquest through war is foreign to his nature. In his abounding love he goes forward to meet and make peace with the self-will so that it may not be repressed, but transformed, without any marks of violence or soreness of feeling, into a vital element of his being. Thus in spirit he is reconciled with all—the wholeness of existence, his inward holiness turning all the world holy. The union of individuality and universality is the crowning victory of his peace-loving soul. Herein he makes the discovery of the fountain-head of all qualitative excellence. It is because of this that all fear is converted into joys of triumph and the freaks of fortune that overpower others are to him mere trifles to play with.

This is the characteristic freedom of the prophet's life, and out of it follows the easy cheerful laugh with which he can greet friend and foe alike. Here is the life where sacredness and humour live and grow side by side. The glory of spiritual living is thus revealed in the life of the prophet and in him alone

abide the highest philosophy as well as the most sublime poetry, for he is the light of truth, the sweetness of all values and the beauty of all existence.

JITENDRAKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

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## HOOGHLY RIVER

A brown old river, where the sampans drift
Like toys among great steamers come to rest
From many ports of call ; a distant frieze
Of figures, bending gracefully, rowing
A high-prowed boat, and moving in rhythm
Against the palm-fringed shore ; gulls, white and grey
In restless flight, darting down to the swell
Of the rising tide, or perching upon
The unstable bosom of the water,
Searching with beady eyes, for fish. Beyond
The broad and turgid flood, the sun glows like
A molten copper ball, above the crests
Of palms, then plunges swiftly out of sight
In bursting flames of colour, streaming o'er
The western sky in lordly salutation
To the dying day. Then shadows deepen
On the land, and from the river comes the
Lights of ships, as night falls silently.
The sound of the water grows more audible,
Singing its secret song, as it courses
For ever on its quest, down to the Bay.

LILY S. ANDERSON

# JĀTAKA-GLEANINGS BEARING ON ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILISATION

## SOCIOLOGY

## II

Love of society and fellow-feeling in which consideration of caste was completely sunk, were the most predominant characteristics of this ancient civilisation as is evident from the solicitude of the people for the welfare of their 'ñātis,' a term used not so much in the sense of relations (salohita) as in the much wider sense of an acquaintance in whom a relation was undoubtedly merged. The people were actively guided in their daily habits by the love of those whom they knew well and called 'ñātis' in Jātakas. Nothing of importance could be done without taking one's ñātis into confidence. The king carried on his administration in consultation with his ñātis who were all his officers and subjects including both towns-folk and country-folk. ('Saddhim rājakārakehi negamajānapadehi ñātayo,' p. 134, IV, J. 462); also ('ñāti-saṃghenâ ti amaccā pi idha ñātayo eva,' p. 190, V, J. 525). In the sentence 'sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato' in the Uluka Jātaka (No. 270, II, p. 353) meaning 'the owl was made king by his 'ñatis,' the term is to be taken in the sense of an acquaintance and not a kindred one. The wise having come to wealth will have to share it along with their ñātis in order that their reputation in this world may be maintained and entrance to heaven ensured.

Society formed by ñātis.

> "Dhiro bhoge adhigamma saṃgaṅhāti ca ñātake
> tena so kittim pappoti pecca sagge ca modati"
>
> (p. 302, III).

A captive was let loose in order that his 'ñātis' would rejoice over his liberation.

"Mayā tvam samanuññāto sotthim passāhi ñātake," said a fowler while setting free a bird he had caught. The bird too while being liberated expressed the desire that his captor also would find his 'ñātis' rejoicing with him:

"Evam luddaka nandassu saha sabbehi ñātibhi."

In the Dasaratha Jātaka (No. 461, IV, p. 127) Rāma exhorts Bharata who is naturally unwilling to accept kingship, being overwhelmed with grief and anger, in the following words:

" So 'ham dassañ ca bhokkhañ ca bharissāmi ca ñātake
sesaṃ sampālayissāmi kiccam evaṃ vijānato."

"I should rather like to give alms, enjoy the kingdom, look after the 'ñātis' and see to the needs of the rest like one aware of his duties than behave otherwise."

A king was asked to rule righteously over his 'ñātis' who constituted all his subjects:

" Dhammena kira ñātīnam rajjaṃ kārehi Saṃvara
Medhāvi paṇḍito cāpi atho pi ñātinaṃ hito
Taṃ taṃ ñāti paribbuḷhaṃ nānāratana mocitaṃ
amittā nappasahanti Indaṃ va asurādhipo "
(p. 135, IV).

"O Samvara, rule over your ñātis righteously and bring welfare unto them being wise and resourceful; for, one decked with jewels and surrounded by his ñātis cannot be overcome by his enemies even like the Indra undaunted by the Asura chief." (*Cf.*, Tam rūhati ñāti majjhe, etc., p. 360, VI, J. 546.)

Marriage confined to ñātis.

As a god was to a god, a demon to a demon or a bird to a bird, so a man was to his fellowman a 'ñāti' irrespective of caste or creed or species and it was from the house of such a ñāti that a wife was selected by the bridegroom and brought

to his residence. In the matter of the selection of a wife, her virtues appeared to be of lesser importance than her pedigree which must be known well beforehand.

> " Daharim kumārim asamatthapañña̱m
> Yan tu' ānayiṃ ñātikulā sugatte"
> (p. 35, IV, J. 444).

A wife was for the most part obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband in whose house, however, she exercised full control over internal management. A monkey just let loose by its owner, a rich gahapati (householder) informs its tribe in the forest that human society was vastly different from theirs in view of the following :

> " Dve dve gahapatayo gehe : eko tattha amassuko
> lambatthano veṇikato atho aṃkitakaṇṇako
> kīto dhanena bahunā so tam vitudate janan'ti "
> (p. 185, II, J. 219).

"While there were two masters in the same house, one (taking the wife for the second master) was devoid of beards, had elongated breasts, ornamented ears and long hairs tied into a knot. Bought at a great price he (she) remonstrated with every one in the house." Also, passages like " Bhariyā yāpi dhanena hoti kītā" (p. 112, IV, J. 458) or " Yā ca bhariyā dhanakkītā sāmikam atimaññati" (p. 269, V, J. 530) sufficiently testify to the existence of the practice of giving daughters in marriage in exchange for money.

But, the character and virtues of the bridegroom were of great consideration to the bride's father before he gave her away in marriage and it was rather considered preferable in the case of a father having more than one daughter, to have them all placed in the hands of one groom of known good character than giving them away to different grooms of varying characters and manners. Thus the ācariya of a family advises the

girl's father as to the kind of the groom he should select for her :

"Attho atthi sarīrasmiṃ vaddhavyassa namo kare
attho atthi sujātasmim silaṃ asmāka ruccati"
(p. 138, II, J. 200).

"A bridegroom must be of noble birth and character, he must also have good health and reverence for elders." The father having four daughters gave them successively away in marriage to the same groom who fulfilled all these conditions. No instance of polyandry adopted by a woman is recorded.

We are not told whether the 'purohita' or the priest had anything to do with marriage celebrations, the presumption being that he did nothing in this connection as marriage was not yet included in religion or considered a sacred function.

Want of husbands on the part of girls was however looked upon as a curse and the king in whose kingdom suitable husbands could not be found was cursed by all.

"Kadāssu nāṃ' ayaṃ rājā Brahmadatto marissati
Yassa raṭṭhasmiṃ jivanti appatītā Kumārikā ti"
(p. 103, V, J. 520).

Sayaṁvara marriage.

Instances are many when girls on attaining proper age which generally ranged from twenty to thirty went of their own accord in search of husbands. Some young maidens of high parentage when falsely charged with stealing mangoes in a garden, denied the charge on oath as follows :

"Visam va pannavisam va unatimsam va jātiyā
tādisā patim mā laddha yā te ambe avahari ti"
"Digham gacchantu addhānam ekikā abhisariyā
Samkete patim mā addasa yā te ambe avahari ti"
(pp. 138-39, III, J. 344).

"Let her who has stolen your mangoes not find a husband when she attains the age of 20 or 25 or 30."

"Let her who has stolen your mangoes walk alone a long distance and not find her husband at the appointed place."

This kind of marriage by the girl approaching direct to select her husband was not without being attended with danger to avert which good care had to be taken to ascertain that she was not a stranger or a member of an enemy party. The Biḍala Kukkuṭa Jātaka (No. 383, Vol. III, p. 266) sounds a note of warning to would-be husbands in the matter of acceptance of wives. The story, besides deprecating marriage between parties of different tribes (races), lays special stress on an observation requiring the girls' declaration of chastity by beat of drums which must have been one of the important features of this kind of 'sayaṃvara' marriage.

"komārikā te hessāmi mañjukā piyabhānini
vinda mam ariyena vedena sāvaya maṃ yad icchasî ti"
(p. 266, II).

"A perfect maiden as I am I shall be your lovely and chaste wife. Acknowledge me therefore by means of the noble proclamation or in any way that pleases you."

No mention is found of 'samajāti bhariyā' or a wife of the same caste in the Jātakas though the term is found several times in the prose, betraying a characteristic of later times (jāti-gotta-kula-padesehi samānā, p. 428, IV). The word invariably found attached to 'bhariyā' is 'sādisī' or 'of the same type' in which type denoted age (tulyavayā, etc., p. 76, IV).

"Bhariyā ca te sādisī dve dadāmi"
(p. 99, IV, J. 456).

'Gottas' of parties should be different.

Generally the law for regulating marriage was that the parties should be of different agnates (gotta) as stressed in the Kacchapa Jātaka (No. 273, Vol. II, p. 360):

"Kacchapā kassapā honti koṇḍaṇṇā honti makkaṭā
muñca kassapa koḍaaṇṇam kataṃ methunakaṃ tayā."

In elucidation of the above the commentary has "Kassapa-koṇḍannānaṃ ca aññamaññaṃ āvāhavivāha sambandho atthi."

From the passage above it is clear that marriage between parties of the same agnate was not customary, and it gives the lie direct to the statement found in prose that Rama and Sita were brother and sister before their marriage, receiving sanction of some ancient Indian custom (p. 130, IV, 1.5). Moreover, it was admitted that even when the parties belonged to different 'gottas' they must not be united in matrimony if they bore very close relationship to each other. The marriage of a king's daughter with his sister's son could not be publicly celebrated though it was found desirable and necessary in view of the parties' being deeply involved in a love-affair. It was the 'susāna' or crematory whereto the couple had to resort to get themselves wedded. On this fact of the case the Jātaka (No. 126, Vol. I, p. 458) rightly observes as follows :

"Tath' eva kassa kalyānam tath' eva kassa pāpakam
Tasmā sabbaṃ na kalyānaṃ sabbam vā pi na pāpakam."

"The same form while proving disastrous to some might be beneficial to others. Therefore it is not entirely beneficial or entirely harmful."

Thus in general, rules regarding ancient marriage reduce to this that, at the desire of the bridegroom satisfying certain conditions the bride was given in marriage by her father not at an early age, but, when the parties attained somewhere between the ages of twenty and thirty and it being restricted to known families the selection of a wife largely depended on the amount of money which could be paid in her exchange. In most cases, unmarried girls chose their own husbands, as such an act was not considered improper or derogatory. The parties also must not be of the same 'gotta' as far as practicable.

Position of wives.

The husband was fortunate and happy if the wife was an equal (sādisī) in respect of age, temperament and virtue; if she fulfilled maternity, was of noble parentage and dutiful to her husband.

" Yassa bhariyā tulyavayā samaggā
anubbatā dhammakāmā pajātā
Koliniyā sīlavati paṭibbatā
dāresu ve sotthānam tad āhu "
(p. 76, IV).

It was seldom expected that she should be educated; on the contrary lack of education was perhaps a condition for the girl precedent to her marriage as the following will show:

" Daharim kumārim *asamatthapaññam*
Yan tu ānayim ñāti kulā sugatte."

Women became virtually mere objects of play with the rich and to the average householder an instrument for procuring children for his family.

" Hatthi gavassa maṇikuṇḍalā ca
nāriyo ca iddhesu kulesu jātā
Sabbā va tā upabhoggā bhavanti
iddhassa posassa aniddhimanto "
(p. 361, IV),

and secondly,

" Kacci te sādisi bhariyā assavā piyabhānini
putta-rupa-yasupetā tava chandavasānugā "
(p. 422, IV; and p. 348, V).

Subservient to the will of the male sex in every respect the position of women in society is very vividly described in the gāthās quoted above and need not be commented upon.

Meant for the enjoyment of the rich and as instruments for bearing sons to the ordinary householder it was no wonder, therefore, that women without an opportunity for practising self-culture and cultivating higher thoughts (N'eva itthīsu sāmaññam,

p. 151, III), turned into a class of beings whose main work was to enchant and mislead men.

" Itthiyo tāta lokasmin pamattam pamathenti tā
haranti yuvino cittaṃ tulaṃ bhaṭṭam va māluto "
(p. 222, IV).

Again,

" Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avādesi vinaṃ sammukhaveṭhito
aṇḍabhutā bhatā bhariyā tāsu ko jātu vissase ti "
(p. 293, I).

Wives reared even from their very infancy would become, when grown up, faithless to their husbands and therefore none should believe them. The very birth of a female child was the sign of ill luck :

" Thiyo tassa pajāyanti na pumā jāyare kule
yo jānam pucchito pañhaṃ aññathā naṃ viyākare "
(p. 459, III).

But, like the silver lining in a dark cloud this gloomy state of affairs regarding women was not without its bright side. Breaking this dismal darkness of women's wretched lot, arose from time to time illuminating illustrations of Sambhulā (J. 519, Vol. V), Amarādevi (pp. 366-371, VI), Udayabhaddā (J. 548, Vol. IV, pp. 104-113), Rujā (J. 544, VI, pp. 230-242), and others who will ever remain enshrined as object-lessons to womenfolk of all ages of the world for exemplification of chastity, wisdom and resourcefulness in the highest degree.

We propose to present here a touching scene from the life-history of queen Sambhulā. Her utterances when after following her husband suffering from leprosy to a forest for nursing him she fell into the hands of 'dānava,' an ogre, who being enamoured of her tried to win her favour in every possible way, recall the memorable cries of Sitā when she was being forcibly taken away by Rāvana. At Sambhulā's refusal to become his wife the ogre caught her by the hand and threatened

to make a meal of her there on which she bitterly lamented thus :

" Na me idaṃ tathā dukkhaṃ yaṃ maṃ khādeyya rakkhaso
Yañ ce me ayya puttassa mano hessati aññathā "
(p. 91, V).

" I shall not be sorry at all if the demon eats me up but, since the mind of my lord will be disturbed on the question of fidelity in my absence I am extremely grieved."

Not finding her way to her husband when set at liberty by Indra, the custodian of Dharma, she next prayed to all the divinities, one of which was Bhāgirathi Gaṅgā. [1]

" Vaṇde Bhāgirathiṃ Gaṅgaṃ savantīnam paṭigahaṃ
rāja-puttaṃ apassanti tumham hi saranaṃ gatā."

Upon meeting him she made a solemn declaration as to her purity, even like the virtuous Sitā when entering the pile of fire to prove her fidelity to Rāma, and restored him to health.

" Tathā mam saccaṃ pāletu pālayissati ce mamaṃ
Yathāham nābhijānāmi aññam piyataraṃ tayā
etena saccavajjena vyādhi te vupasammatu ti"
(p. 95, V).

" Let Truth protect me now if it will protect me ever. If I have not thought of any one besides my husband as dearer to me then, by the virtue of this solemn declaration let his disease subside."

Forthwith the leprosy vanished and he became hale and hearty.

Fear of forced widowhood after the death of their husbands was again no factor in causing this display of chastity by wives. The idea of continuity of the sacred relation between husband and wife throughout their past, present and future being absent, women were perfectly free to remarry at the death of their husbands (J. 411, IV, p. 394) or on being deserted by them.

[1] The Jātaka thus testifies to the early existence of the Hindu pantheon in which Gaṅgā pujā was included.

In trying to solve the origin of creation these ancient people advanced the theory that originally there were no wives and that the creation of mankind was the outcome of the mind.

" Pure purattha kā kassa bhariyā
mano manussam ajanesi pubbe "
(p. 213, VI).

"For their weakness women themselves are to blame" perhaps was the argument of the male sex in perpetrating their misery. A king when questioned what would his seven hundred wives do in case he left them behind to become himself a recluse of the forest, replied :

" Paññāyihinti etā
daharā, aññaṃ pi tā gamissanti
Saggaṃ ca patthayāno
tena-m-aham pabbajissāmiti "
(p. 178, V).

" Their fates will be decided by their karma and being young they will go to some other king, but desiring to go to heaven I must renounce them."

For obvious reasons women had to live under seclusion and protection and were on this account looked upon as 'Orodhā' (*lit.* those living in guarded houses). But when required they were perfectly free to move about like men.

At a public ceremony or feast women mustered strong in the same way as men :

" Orodhā ca kumārā ca vesiyānā ca brāhmaṇā
bahum aṇṇañ ca pānañ ca paṇḍitassābhihārayum "
(p. 328, VI).

Excursions to places of public interest were also not forbidden.

Therefore, judging from all points of view it would not be a mistake to suppose that in ancient India a wife whose personal freedom was seldom interfered with, was accepted more for meeting the demands of the male-sex than for having any desire of her own fulfilled.

Security from danger obtained by friendship.

And now, more sacred than marriage and stronger than union between husband and wife was the tie of friendship that bound the ancient Indian with his neighbour, be it an index of affection or of duty. Unrestricted to any caste, and unlimited in its scope and soaring beyond even human limitations was friendship which once contracted between the parties was to be maintained up to the last moment of their lives. To a friend a friend was nearer and dearer than his ñāti or his wife because he entertained the highest love for him and was prepared to sacrifice his all in his cause. The royal road to friendship as understood in the 'Jātakas' lay through equality (sādisi) not of status, birth or wealth but of education and virtue only.

"Yam tv'eva jaññā sadiso maman ti
Sīlena paññāya sutena cā pi
te v'eva mettin kayirāth saddhim
sukhāvaho sappurisena saṅgamo"

(p. 42, II).

(*Cf.* p. 14, VI.)

"Whomsoever one finds to be an equal in respect of virtue, wisdom and learning, with him should he make friendship for companionship with the good is blissful."

Apparently, irrespective of his caste or creed an equal (sādisī) was one who possessed the same degree of virtue (sīla) wisdom (paññā) and knowledge (sutaṃ), whereas we have seen in the case of a wife the word 'sādisi' stood for equality of age (tulyavaya). Possession of strength was also no factor in the formation or growth of friendship. The example of the lion living amicably with a jackal whose friendship saved his life at a critical moment affords us an illustration of this fact in the 'Guṇa Jātaka' (No. 157, II, p. 157) wherein the lion observes:

"Api ce dubbalo mitto mittadhammesu tiṭṭhati
so ñātako ca bandu ca so mitto so ca me Sakhā."

"However weak a friend might be, if he keeps intact the conditions of friendship, he is the acquaintance, the relation, the friend and the nearest and the dearest one."

Similarly poverty was no impediment to the fostering of friendship with the rich :

> "Karaniyāni mettāni daliddenapi senaka
> passa mettānukampāya samaggāha sañātike."

"One should make friendship even with the poorest for with the help of such a friend we have been brought to our acquaintances."

The virtues which characterised a friend as enumerated in the "Mittāmitta Jātaka (No. 473, IV, pp. 196-199) are quite simple and indicative of the early existence of the Aryan society in a strange land surrounded by unfriendly people. They are : (1) to remember a friend when he is away from home, (2) to feel delighted at his return, (3) to soothe him with gentle words when ailing, (4) to be among his well-wishers and not his enemies, (5) to restrain others from speaking evil of him, (6) to be in company with those who praise him, (7) to open secrets to him and keep nothing secret from him, (8) to extol his wisdom and praise his works, (9) to rejoice in his prosperity and feel downhearted at his fall, and (10) to feel at a banquet the want of his company and to express the desire that he might also meet with the same.

Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows and the limited circle of acquaintances in a small state not in a position to give adequate protection to individuals made them largely dependent on mutual comradeship and friendly alliances in which consideration of caste or creed had practically no place.

The door of friendship was even open to strangers who upon some practical demonstration of friendly motives were also to be acknowledged as friends. Such a simple incident as residence for a single night receiving the hospitality of a stranger by accepting from him food and drink, was enough to warrant friendship

between the guest and his host in ancient India. Thus expressed the Brahmin minister Vidhura to Yakkha Punnaka when the latter gave indications of an unfriendly attitude :

" Yass' ekarattim pi ghare vaseyya
Yath' aṇṇapānam puriso labhetha
Na tassa papam manasādhicetaye
adubbapanim dahate mitta dubho."

" If one should stay even for a single night at another's house and receive food and drink therefrom, he must not think evil of his benefactor much less do him harm. The one, who injures such a friend verily burns the hand that hitherto remained free from wound."

The rendering of a personal service by one and its acceptance by another were in themselves sufficient to unite individuals in the bond of friendship. The friend was likened unto a tree that sheltered even for a little while the refugee who sought it.

" Yassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisideyya sayeyya vā
na tassa sākham bhañjeyya mittadubho hi pāpako "
(p. 310, VI).

" If one should lie down or sit under the shade of a tree he must not break its branches as violation of friendship is sinful."

A traitor injuring such a benefactor suffers the worst agonies of life in this world and goes to the most terrible hell in the next.

" Kuṭṭhi kilāsi bhavati yo mittānam idha dubbhati
Kāyassa bhedā mittaddu nirayam so upapajjati "
(p. 72, V).
(*Cf.* p. 87, V; p. 103, VI.)

Commensality not restricted by caste.

From what we have said regarding ' ñāti ' or acquaintances and ' mitta ' or friends in previous pages, it appears very clearly that there was absolutely no ground for maintaining any restriction as to the mode of eating together among different castes. This will

appear so upon an examination of concrete cases relating to the subject of commensality in ancient India. The only caste which perhaps was treated differently in the matter of distribution of food was the 'Chaṇḍālas' who practically constituted no caste at all being outside all castes. For, we find these people living beyond the pale of society and demanding at a feast the remnants of food as their due but not participating in the taking of food like the four main castes. In the Mātaṅga Jātaka (No. 497, IV), the sage Mātaṅga born of a Chaṇḍāla, while expecting food from Māṇḍavya an orthodox Brahmin who had prepared a feast, was evidently referring to the custom of the country in the following words :

"Aṇṇam tava idaṃ pakataṃ yasassi
taṃ khajjare bhuñjare piyyare ca
jānāsi tvaṃ paradattūpajiviṃ
uttiṭṭha-piṇḍam labhataṃ sopāko"
(p. 380, IV).

"O renowned Brahmin, here is ready a nice feast which all will enjoy; but, are you aware of one who lives by begging? Let the Chaṇḍāla receive the remnants of food." And, in this particular case though the Chaṇḍāla sage was refused alms in the first instance, for dereliction of duty, the Brahmin had to suffer a certain punishment which ceased only when he made amends by voluntarily partaking of the food partially eaten by the same Chaṇḍāla sage. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka having a definite instance of the Brahmin Paṇḍit Vidhura (p. 401, III) accepting cooked rice from all castes at a public ceremony, finally sets the question of eating together at rest.

"Samāgatā jānāpadā negamā ca samāgatā bahum
bahum annañ ca pānañ ca paṇḍitassā bhihārayuṃ"
(p. 328, VI).

"A vast number of townsfolk and country-folk assembled together and brought for the Paṇḍit large quantities of cooked rice and plenty of beverage."

There being no distinction in food, which is more responsible than anything else for creating distinctive groups of castes in times of taking meals, objection raised by one caste against another for eating together was improper and unthought of.

Unless it was a case of special delicacy which only the rich could afford, the general food of the people consisted of rice and flesh (maṁsa and bhattam). The poorer section that could not provide flesh had to content itself with rice and its gruel (yāgu and bhattaṃ) while the rich were in daily enjoyment of flesh cooked in rice :

" Sālīnaṃ bhojanam bhuñje sucim maṃsupasecanam "
(p. 29, III, p. 144, III; etc.).

Also,

" Rājā te bhattaṁ pāhesi suciṃ mamsupasecanaṃ "
(p. 327).

It should be noted that the Brahmins as a class did not form an exception to those who lived on flesh. Not only did the Brahmins partake of flesh but also lived as hunters or butchers and carried on trade in flesh.

" Pasū pitattha haññanti mahisā sukarā ajā
goghātakasamā rāja te pi vuccanti brāhmanā."
(p. 364, IV).

Examples are also not wanting of cases in which men overcome with an insatiable lust for tasting flesh having disposed of every kind but human flesh, resorted to cannibalism.

Perhaps the zenith of freedom in the matter of food and drink was already reached in the Jātakas for we see the next step towards their limitations is in progress and the initiative taken by the Khattiyas in this direction.

" Pañca pañca na khā bhakkhā khattiyena pajānatā
abhakkhaṃ rāja bhakkhesi, tasmā adhammiko tuvan ti "
(p. 489, VI).

The above passage is explained in the commentary as follows: "Of all flesh five kinds are eatable for a Khattriya, *viz.*, Sasaka (hare), Sallaka (deer), Godho (iguana), Sāci (porcupine) and Kummo (tortoise) while the rest are not fit for consumption." In fact, distinction in the matter of food which did not exist before had just begun to grow up in society giving rise to complicated rules of connubium and commensality.

We may now sum up our observations on ancient Indian society so far as it is reflected in the Jātakas thus:

Conclusion.

Impling no more than mere family title the caste did not regulate the professions of men though the original idea in launching the scheme was to restrict the functions of individuals according to its respective gradations. A Brahmin's son became a Brahmin by reason of birth; in like manner descendants of Khattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras took the caste of their fore-fathers, but, in the matter of selection of professions they were seldom interfered with on that score. It was the nature of work and the excellence shown in its performance that determined the prestige and honour of its author.

Men living in society were generally relations tied by the bonds of matrimony, which was confined to 'ñātis' or acquaintances, a custom which undoubtedly points to the early existence of tribal system of government from pre-Vedic times. The discriminating rules on connubium and commensality which characterise the Indian society were as yet unknown.

Brahmins are undoubtedly referred to in the Jātakas as being proud of their birth but this was not due to their enjoying priority of claim in all social matters. Free from egoism as an 'Ācāriya,' an 'Isi' and a 'Bhikkhu' the Brahmin was the ideal type of man put forth and extolled in Jātaka literature. It was the Brahmin's wisdom, knowledge of various cults and the spirit of renunciation which in reality maintained his supremacy in society rather than his arrogant desire for domination over

other castes, an allegation, for which, so far as the Jātakas are concerned, there is no foundation in fact.

> " Addhā have sevitabbā sapaññā
> bahussutā ye bahuṭhānacintino
> Yes'ayam sutvāna subhāsitāni
> Appossukā vippasokā sudhammā ti."
>
> (p. 453, IV.)
>
> (*Ef.* p. 176; p. 306, III; p. 467, IV.)

As embodied in the above gāthā the criterion of society being virtue and wisdom the ideal of men was to serve the learned and worship the saint.

GOKULDAS DE

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## TROPIC DUSK

Muted in rising mists of dusk,
Fire-flies, like atoms of winged light,
Dance in the tangled green of trees;
The distant throb of tom-tom strikes
Against the gloom; fragrance of jasmine
Clings to swooning air, and sleepy notes
Of drowsy birds make silence deep.
A swarm of stars swim into space;
A new moon cuts a silver path
Athwart the purpled plains of night;
The lang'rous breath of India steals
Upon charmed senses, and beauty
Send out her unseen tentacles
To clutch the heart with ecstasy
As wistful nameless dreams are born.

LILY S. ANDERSON

## GRAMOPHONE AND MUSICAL NOTES

There is a varied and interested assortment of titles in the new lists for this month, and one cannot help but think that the companies concerned are doing their level best to cater for all tastes. This coupled with the welcome reduction in the prices of records, should move the sales along considerably.

### *His Master's Voice.*

I enjoyed Marek Weber's record of Dreams on the Ocean, and Tres Jolie (C2102) better than I have enjoyed anything for some time. Two typical Viennese waltzes, these are played in superb style by Marek Weber and his Orchestra on a twelve-inch disc. Islamey and Oriental Fantasy by Balakireff, arranged by Casella played by the new Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Eugene Goossens, on Record C2086, is modern in the extreme; it is finely played throughout, although I found the volume of tone was, in parts, almost too much for my sound-box. The ever popular Gracie Fields sings, on record B3780, the Kiss Waltz and You're Driving Me Crazy in her usual inimitable style. For those in search of a good pianoforte record I can well recommend DAII60 with Horowitz, a young Russian pianist, playing the Liszt-Busoni version of Paganini's Etude in E Flat Mazor, the crashing crescendos, the clear-cut staccato playing, and the legato passages make this a record worth hearing. It is backed with No. 3 of Debussy's Children's Corner Suite—Serenade for the doll—a composition of delicate sweetness. Beyond the Blue Horizon has been recorded in all ways by all bands but Raie da Costa's pianistic version, aided by the Night Club Kings, in the "Monte Carlo" Medley on record B3777 is truly fine, on the other side is the "Whoopee" Medley by the same pianist and combination. Die Walkuee by Wagner is probably one of his most

popular "Ring" Operas and record C2179 containing Wotan's Farewell and the Magic Fire Music sung by Rudolf Beckelmann with the Berlin State Orchestra is magnificently played, sung and recorded. The rich tone of the Orchestra under the baton of Clemens Schmalstich is faultless, and supports Beckelmann's splendid voice without any excess, or overwhelming tone. Ewald Bohmer with the Berlin State Orchestra, sings the refined and delicate, A Maiden Fair and Slender, from Mozart's Magic Flute and A Fowler Bold in Me You See, from the same Opera, on record B3781.

*Phonycord*

This splendid flexible record improves with each issue. Felipe Romito, a Mexican baritone singer, whom Phonycord claim as their own discovery is a remarkably good singer. His voice is shown to advantage on record P113, singing Otello—Credo, by Verdi, in Italian and Ballo in Maschera also by Verdi. Waltzes of the world (P109) played by the Tiergarten Light Orchestra, is a pot-pourri of old-time waltz favourites that deserves popularity. Wedding of the Winds and The Dwarf's Parade (P111) played by the Vienna Cameo Orchestra are delightfully rendered, particularly the latter, which is somewhat in the form of a novelty piece also. I had cause to mention Marian Anderson a little while ago when I was attracted by her fine singing of Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child, and I find there is another delightful record of the same singer in the new Phonycord lists, namely P112, on which she sings O Love From Thy Power, from Samson and Delila, and Air de Lia by Debussy. Tango lovers will like record P122 with Mama...yo quiero un novio, and Adios, Juventud, both with Spanish vocal refrains, played by El Aguila de Mexico (Tango Orchestra) whilst military band lovers will be well advised to hear the well balanced tone of March militaire (Schubert) and with Flying Colours (F. Von Blom) on record P110. It was a bold experiment of Eddy Walis and his

Symphonic dance Orchestra to play a selection from the Gypsy Princess in the form of a fox-trot pot-pourri—but it was successful! Record P117 reveals the beauty of the Gypsy Princess' melodies and also some very clever playing on the part of the Orchestra.

From a particularly good bunch of dance records I pick out P121, Somebody Else Will Take My Place, and, Mary, played by the Oceanic Dance Band, both containing good effects in the form of piano and xylophone playing. P119 contains a couple of good numbers recorded by The Midnight Revellers under the direction of Jock McDermott (who are making their debut with Phonycord). If You Cannot Sing Whistle, and We All Go, "Oo, ha! ha!" together, the style of this record brings infectious good humour to bear on the listener.

*Decca.*

Now that Julius Harrison has succeeded Basil Cameron as conductor of the Hastings Municipal Orchestra, we are naturally all interested to see the class of recording that emanate from there. Cavalleria Rusticana Intermezzo, and the Bacerolle from Tales of Hoffman on record F2261 are well-orchestrated and nicely played; I was delighted with the calm beautiful playing of the former composition. There are few such deeply rousing songs as the toreadors' song from Bizets Carmen, containing, as it does, the glamour, the danger, the excitement and thrills of the arena. Andre Gaudin with the L'Orchestre Du Theatre National de L'Opera Comique under the direction of Louis Masson on record T10005, give us this composition in great style, whilst on the reverse side of this record is Mireille (Gounod), by the same singer and Orchestra, this is intriguing both in melody and tone. There is a delightful record of Carl Brisson issued recently Leave a Little Smile, from the film "Oh! Sailor Behave!" coupled with, I Still Get a Thrill, Thinking Of You (F2262), there is something jolly and captivating about Carl Brisson's style that 'gets

you' every time, and I think his singing of Leave a Little Smile is typical of his own nature. Valse Romantique Nos. 1 and 2, on record FF2092 (piano) played by Madame De Lausnay is one of Chabrier's most interesting compositions. The technique of this record is good. Henry Hall and his Gleneagles Hotel Band play pieces from Cochran's 1931 Review—Half-caste Woman—a slow foxtrot that is something of a change from the usual run of things, and It's a Great Life If You Do Not Weaken, from the film "Playboy of Paris." It is interesting to note that the two shilling Decca records are now one and six, and the 12" three shillings and sixpence issue is now half a crown, which to say the least, is astonishing value.

All the above reviewing was done with a Limit "Windsor" sound-box, and Golden Pyramid needles, which are both excellent products. I now regularly use the Limit sound-box for all types work, as I consider it gives satisfactory results under all conditions.

LELAND J. BERRY.

# POEMS

## Whose the Heart ?

My heart is never mine, I find
    It whirls, it flows, it stops.
Up it flies to prideful height,
    In darkest depth it drops.
Oh, teach me heart is thine, oh Love,
    To find sweet peace, below, above.

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## Love's Hide and Seek

At will he comes, at will departs.
    Nor turns a look to cast,
"I've come," he said and's gone away,
    And brok'n weak woman's trust.
Oh, why he me to love pretends
    With hard heart hid in art.
The burning forest all can see
    But not the flaming heart.

*  *  *  *

With me, he is but lost in me
Away, I'am his and all's he.
My eyes, deserted by sweet sleep,
    My greatest pain am I.

## Love Kills Pride

My life the obverse of dark death,
My breath a long drawn sigh.
In Love my heart beholds my bride
But tainted's my love with pride.
Pride tamed, she hides in smiling face,
But pride ungraces my embrace.
Oh Love! may I myself forget,
Make thou my life but thy sweet pet.

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## Love's Music

Oh, Music, with magic art
Thou weddest this forlorn sad heart.
Lo child, named joy thou givest birth;
Thy formless child smiles heaven on earth.
He frowns, she mocks, in her sweetest kiss,
She drops, unseen, nameless bliss
I her forget, and think she is me
Thy joy child, love, makes life feel free.

Mohini Mohan Chatterji

# MEDICAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY

The German Universities, as is well-known, have contributed, and are still contributing very materially to the advancement of medical science, and have thereby attained an ever-increasing importance and eminence in this field of knowledge. These achievements coupled with the warm welcome and excellent facilities which they offer to the outside world attract every year a large number of foreign students to Germany. In fact, there are at present about 100,000 foreign students from different parts of the world. It is sometimes difficult for them to understand the system of research and teaching in the German Universities, because of their ignorance of the ideal on which it is based, and the tradition on which it is built. The ideal and the tradition which have grown up during the long period of about five centuries, are to inspire in the young student a true spirit of science, zealous research and independent thinking. This idealism dominates the system and is manifest in every little detail, as will presently be seen.

Before proceeding to discuss medical education proper it may be advisable to say a few words about the system of university education in general and draw the points of difference between it and that in India. The chief and the first difference which will be noticed is that there is no division into "undergraduate" and "post-graduate" studies in the German universities. Necessarily therefore the examinations such as for the degree of "Intermediate Bachelor" or "Master of Art or Science" are unknown. The only kind of degree is that of "Doctor." The second is that the terms are not reckoned by "years" but by "semesters,"—a summer semester of about three months' duration and a winter of five months. The summer semester begins in April, and the winter in October.

Study can be started either in the summer or winter semester, but it is convenient to start in the winter. The third point is that there is no fixed time for examination, neither is there any examination at the end of semesters. Examinations are held as soon as a certain number of students are ready to sit for them. The fourth point is as interesting as it is advantageous. The students may change their place of study and complete their course in different universities. By a reciprocal arrangement among the universities, the attendance in one is accepted by the other as a matter of course. Thus the students derive the benefits of different viewpoints in the field of work chosen, and get also the opportunity of knowing the different parts of the country and people. This goes a long way in helping to get rid of narrowness and isolation or inter-provincial jealousy. The fifth point is that the German universities are neither "residential" nor have they "colleges." There are departments of clinics, which are part and parcel of the university, like the departments of chemistry, physics, etc., or Childrens' clinic, Surgical clinic. These correspond to the Post-graduate Departments of the Indian universities in charge of a Professor.

A great difference will also be observed in the method of imparting instruction. The "lectures" are held by the heads of the departments, "Professors" as they are called, giving a general view of a particular subject with special references to their own research. "Exercises" are conducted in the laboratories or clinics in the form of an open discussion. "Seminars" are places of work for a "dissertation" carried independently under the guidance of a professor. As regards "private-students" there is neither any recommendation, nor selection of books. The students choose their books according to their necessity and suitability. There is no obligation for the student to attend the lectures, or reside in hostels, etc. In fact, no register is kept of the attendance. The students are allowed considerable amount of freedom with a view to stimulate the development of their individuality in their own ways.

To come now to the medical education proper, the first thing which strikes one is that there is no graduation of medical qualification leading to different classes of services as seen in India. Such graduation is the greatest hindrance to the progress of medical science, and a blot on humanity, and therefore must be abolished in India as has been done in every civilized country of the world. There is only one uniform standard in all the German universities. The young student of either sex after he or she has passed the school-final—" Gymnasium " as they call it—which lasts nine years enters the university and joins the medical faculty. For admission to this faculty it is obligatory to have a knowledge of Latin. If he does not already possess it, he must pass an examination in Latin in a Real Gymnasium. This is also demanded from foreign students, who wish to do only the chemical part in Germany. It must be pointed out that although the Matriculation Examination of Indian universities is accepted as a sufficient preliminary qualification for admission, the Indian student should better pass the Intermediate Examination in Science. Foreign students should also remember that the medium of instruction is German, and therefore they must know the German language. The course of medical studies extends over eleven semesters, five for the pre-clinical, and six for the clinical part of the study. The promotion to the clinical course is contingent on passing an examination after the pre-clinical course. The student may select any one of the following universities for his study for both clinical and pre-clinical semesters and for clinical semesters only :—

Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Giessen, Göttingen, Greifswald, Halle, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Köln, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, München, Münster, Rostock, Tübingen, Würzburg, Dusseldorf.

In the pre-clinical period lectures are held on Anatomy (including Osteology, Histology, Embryology, Topographical and systematic anatomy), Physiology (including Physiological Chemistry and General Physiology), Zoology, Botany, Chemistry

and Physics. In some universities special lectures are delivered on the last four subjects for the medical students only, but in others they attend the lectures along with the students of those faculties. The pre-clinical study comprises also practical work in these subjects and dissections. After the students have attended this course, for at least five semesters they are eligible to appear at the first medical examination, the so-called "sentamen Physicum." In exceptional cases the attendance in foreign universities is accepted and the students are exempted from further attendance.

The students begin their clinical course after passing this examination which may be taken as equivalent to the first M.B. Examination of the Indian universities. As has already been mentioned the clinical course extends over six semesters. Lectures and demonstrations are held on Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, and Gynaecology, Hygiene, Medical Jurisprudence, and Pathology. Practical classes are also held on clinical laboratory methods, Auscultation and Percussion, Ophthalmology, Otoscopy, Laryngoscopy, Feeding, Ray. An omission which will at once be considered very serious and remarkable is that it is not obligatory for the medical students to attend the clinics and hospitals. Their contact with the patients is limited to those ten cases which are demonstrated in the lectures and practical classes. Although most of the students utilize their holidays by working as a "Praktikant" it must be said that the method of education in India and other countries by which attendance in the hospitals is made compulsory is decidedly better than the German system in this respect. A compensation is made for this omission by making a year's practical training in a hospital compulsory for those who wish to practise in Germany after they have taken their degree of M.D. But as the foreign students, though entitled to the title of M.D., are not allowed to practise, they miss this practical training and therefore their education must be considered inferior.

The whole system of medical education has been described

but there are certain special privileges and exemptions available for those foreign students who have already finished their medical education in their own country and obtained the degree which shorten the period of study. The German universities confer the degree of foreign physicians' M.D. provided they have fulfilled the following conditions and passed the usual examinations.

1. They have studied for at least two semesters in the German university, from which they wish to get the degree.

2. They have already obtained the degree of M.D. or an equivalent which entitle them to practise in their own country.

3. The course of studies in a well-equipped Medical College in their own country is the same as in the German universities that is eleven semesters.

It will be seen from these facts that the Indian students may spare much time and money, if they already take their degree in India and come to Germany afterwards. The minimum period within which they can expect to get the M.D. from a German university is only ten months. It is advisable alike on this ground as also on the ground mentioned above, that is, that foreign students do not get the benefit of practical training in a hospital, that the Indian students should not look to have this whole course of medical education in the German universities. And a still better course, open to them, which is necessary to be emphasized, is the excellent opportunity available for original work in a particular field of medicine. There is an abundance of clinics, institutes and laboratories in Germany, where such work can be undertaken, and where foreign students and physicians who work in these places every year learn the special methods and publish their papers under the guidance of the most distinguished men in the international medical circle. Of course this kind of work does not entitle them to any degree but they can learn much more than what they would otherwise do. The preliminary qualification necessary for these cases is that they should have already taken their degree in their own country and worked on their special

subject for some time. The institutes where such special research can be carried on are the following :

| Name of the city. | Name of the institute and the special subject of study. |
|---|---|
| Berlin | 1. Institut für biologische Anatomie (Biological Anatomy). |
| | 2. Institut für Anthropologie (Anthropology). |
| | 3. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence). |
| | 4. Hydro-therapeutische Anstalt (Hydrotherapy). |
| | 5. Mechano-therapeutische Anstalt (Mechanotherapy). |
| | 6. Institut für Krebsforschung (Cancer-Research). |
| | 7. Laboratorium für Neurobiologie (Neurobiology). |
| | 8. Praktische Unterrichtsanstalt für Staatsarzneikunde (Pharmacology and Drugs). |
| | 9. Ambulatorium für Stimm- und Sprachstörungen (Voice and Speech Disturbances). |
| | 10. Institut für Infektionskrankheiten "Robert Koch" mit Wutschutzabteilung (Bacteriology and Infectious Diseases). |
| Bonn | 1. Institut für Parasitologie (Parasitology). |
| | 2. Institut für Physiologische Chemie (Physiological Chemistry). |
| | 3. Institut für soziale Medizin (Social Medicine). |
| Breslau | 1. Institut für Anthropologie (Anthropology). |
| | 2. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence). |

| Name of the city. | Name of the institute and the special subject of study. |
|---|---|
| | 3. Hygienisches Institut (Hygiene). |
| | 4. Sozial-hygienische Akademie (Social Hygiene). |
| Charlottenburg | 1. Sozial-hygienische Akademie (Social Hygiene). |
| Düsseldor | 1. Sozial-hygienische Akademie (Social Hygiene). |
| | 2. Institut für physikalische Grundlage der Medizin (Physical Principles of Medicine). |
| | 3. Institut für animalische und vegetablische Physiologie (Animal and Plant-Physiology). |
| Hamburg | 1. Institut für Hydrobiologie (Hydrotherapy). |
| | 2. Impfanstalt (Vaccination). |
| | 3. Institut für Krebsforschung (Cancer-Research). |
| | 4. Lupusheilstädte (Lupus). |
| | 5. Pilzforschungsinstitut. |
| | 6. Institut für Tropenkrankheiten (Tropical Medicine). |
| | 7. Institut für experimentelle Therapie (Experimental Therapeutics). |
| Heidelburg | 1. Institut für Eiweissforschung (Protenis). |
| | 2. Institut für Krebsforschung (Cancer-Research). |
| | 3. Orthopädische Klinik (Orthopaedics). |
| | 4. Institut für Radiologie (Radiology). |
| Jena | 1. Anthropomotische und zootomische Sammlungen (Anthropometry). |
| | 2. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence and History of Medicine). |
| | 3. Institut für experimentelle Pathologie (Experimental Pathology). |

| Name of the city. | Name of the institute and the special subject of study. |
|---|---|
| Kiel | 1. Anthropologisches Institut (Anthropology).<br>2. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence).<br>3. Institut für Strahlentherapie (Ray-therapy). |
| Köln | 1. Institut für physiologische Pathologie (Physiological Pathology).<br>2. Psychiatrische Klinik (Psychiatry).<br>3. Röntgeninstitut (Radiology). |
| Königsberg | 1. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin und Soziale Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence and Social Medicine). |
| Leipzig | 1. Bakteriologische Untersu-cchungsanstalt (Bacteriology).<br>2. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence).<br>3. Institut für Geschichte der Medizin (History of Medicine).<br>4. Institut für Physiologische Chemie (Physio-chemistry).<br>5. Röntgeninstitut (Radiology). |
| Marburg | 1. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence). |
| München | 1. Anthropologisches Institut (Anthropology).<br>2. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence).<br>3. Institut für Tierhygiene (Animal Hygiene).<br>4. Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatry (Psychiatry and Serology).<br>5. Institut für Radiologie (Radiology). |

| Name of the city. | Name of the institute and the special subject of study. |
|---|---|
| Rostock | 1. Institut für gerichtliche Medizin (Medical Jurisprudence). |
| | 2. Institut für physiologische Chemie (Physiological Chemistry). |
| Tübingen | 1. Bakteriologische Untersuchungsanstalt (Bacteriology). |
| | 2. Institut für physiologische Chemie (Physiological Chemistry). |
| Würzburg | 1. Bakteriologische Untersuchungsanstalt (Bacteriology and Plague). |
| | 2. Röntgeninstitut (Radiology). |

Each of these institutes is specially suitable and equipped for the study of subjects mentioned against their names. Apart from them every university has got clinics such as medical, surgical, women's, children's, ear, nose and throat, eye, skin, etc., where these subjects can be specially studied. The admission to these institutes and clinics is entirely in the hands of the heads of the departments and all communications must be addressed to them. The conditions vary a little in different places but generally a small fee is charged and the candidates must spend a minimum period of three to six months.

Before concluding this brief sketch a few words may be said about the education of dentists, although dentistry does not strictly fall within the domain of medicine. In Germany, dentistry is considered as a special branch of medicine in the University Dental Clinics. All the universities, except that of Giessen, have this department. The duration of study extends over seven semesters, three preclinical, and four clinical semesters. There are two examinations, one after the preclinical and the final after the clinical course of study, leading to the degree of "Dr. med. dent." The students must put in a "Thesis" to get the degree. The subjects in the preclinical course are very similar to anatomy and physiology of the mouth and

the techniques of dentistry are also taught. In the clinical period apart from the special dental methods, preventive dentistry with special reference to school-children, generally clinical methods, bacteriology, pharmacology, hygiene, etc., are taught.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that in choosing the place of study, not only the cost of living which is about 3,000 Marks a year, and personal convenience, etc., should be taken into consideration, but also the eminence of the Professor in charge of the department in which the work is to be carried out. Anybody desiring further details or information may obtain them from the "India Institute" of Die Deutsche Akademie, Residenz, München, Germany.

# Reviews

**Pancharshi or the Founders of Vedic Idealism**: By Sitanath Tattvabhushan, 211, Cornwallis Street, Brahmo Mission Press. Eight Annas.

It is with genuine appreciation that we commend to the reading public the latest production, though not surely the last of its kind, from the prolific pen of Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan—a monograph bearing the above title. Being professedly an exposition of Vedic Idealism, it may as well serve as an excellent introduction to later Vedantic Idealism. It purports to show that beginning with the budding sense of One in the Many that we come across in *Uddalaka Aruni* and ending with *Chitra's* description of the Brahmaloka, there is a sustained message of Absolute Idealism—of course in different stages of evolutionary growth. In all such genetic studies we should, however, guard against the usual tendency to construe the principle of evolution with a literalness that strikes at the very root of all development truly conceived. Indeed, it is not possible, within the meaning of the law of development, to have the flower along with the fruit, for the simple reason that the decay of the flower is the condition of the appearance of the fruit. Our author happily is far too securely lodged in the principle of genetic studies to succumb to the spell of the Absolutist's Absolute, which, on Bradley's rendering of it, 'has no seasons, but all at once bears its leaves, fruit, and blossoms.' It is symptomatic of that constitutional impatience which the absolutist evinces for all process of growth and development. In escaping the snare of such an absolutism, and making a judicious use of the notion of development, our author irresistibly reminds us of Edward Caird and his method of treatment of the major philosophical issues in his 'Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.' We wish we had the time and space at our disposal to quote chapter and verse by way of substantiating the point. We are told that space, or rather space-time, has four dimensions, but unfortunately for reviewers it has one dimension only, and that a very miserable one. On account of the rigours of space-economy we have to be content with a bare mention of what appeared to us to be the salient characteristics of the book under review.

As gliding along the pages, one hardly fails to be impressed by the two arresting features of the booklet in question. In the first place, it exhibits all through a judicious balance between subjective evaluation and objective presentation,—although a rigid opposition between the two is, we know, as fantastic as it is unsound in principle. The *modus operandi* of

our author in dealing with his specific themes is admirably akin to the Platonic method of following strictly the lead of arguments. In writings philosophical, the method is bound to produce the wholesome effect of pruning away excesses of subjectivism, and thus securing the desired end. Secondly, it is the impenitent rationalism of the author that comes in for unqualified admiration from us. In a matter like this, where difficulties of a critical estimate are heightened by a far too easy emotional hypnosis, it is no mean achievement to be told that our author has sustained all through the rôle of a relentless critic who is not afraid of calling a spade a spade. It is a matter of common knowledge that texts of varying degrees of cogency and philosophic import abound in one and the same Upanishad, and appearing, as they do so often, in close succession, they may easily beguile the unwary interpreter into construing them as the consecutive steps of one unbroken message. That is all the more the reason why the would-be critic of the Upanishadic texts has to cultivate that mental alertness which can easily spot out the weak points in an otherwise flawless piece of argumentation. This is a pre-requisite which the Pandit brings to the execution of his task, and it is this, more than anything else, that accounts for the remarkable success he has scored in his undertaking.

Finally, we should like to make one further observation in this context. One who has close acquaintance with the latter-day writings of the Pandit must have noticed that as advancing in 'years that bring the philosophic mind,' he has been settling down to the 'knowledge absolute Subject to no dispute.' This was admittedly his first love ; but the absolutism which is nurtured in the atmosphere of his recent musings speaks with a different accent. We feel its impact everywhere, but fail to give it a local habitation and a name. Accordingly, the monograph under review, a typical product of the mellowing years, although objective in tone and conception, has nevertheless to our minds at least an autobiographical interest attaching thereto. May these writings of his prove a never-failing source of inspiration to those of the younger generation who would choose to follow in his footsteps. To those who would thus be drawn by an elective affinity, the silent message that is to come unmistakably can best be rendered by the opening lines of *Rabbi Ben Ezra*:

"Grow old along with me;
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made."

S. K. Das

**Bihar and Orissa in 1929-1930**—This is the moral and material progress report of the province. A Civilian officer has brought up to date the history of the province along with a summary of the principal events, up to March, 1930. Bihar and Orissa has a large population of 34 millions and a meagre revenue of 5·85 crores of rupees alone to cover the increasing expenditure. The unfortunate permanent settlement of land and the decision of the Secretary of the State to enjoy the benefits of royalties from the mines have rendered the income of the province rather inelastic. The excise income stands to be adversely affected so that the province is placed in an unfortunate predicament. With no possibility of raising fresh revenue by additional provincial taxation, the Government finds itself unable to raise the standard of administration and provide the people with the essentials of a modern civilised Government.

If the essential financial resources are not to be had, even local self-governing bodies can hardly show any improvement. The poverty of the municipalities lies at the root of the stagnation of municipal administration. The activities of the District Boards are more encouraging and their sanitary, veterinary and educational work and the development of communications have been attended to but it is sad to note that the driving power had often to be supplied by official agency.

One redeeming feature is the increasing activity and progress of the co-operative movement. The initial defects, *viz.*, hasty organisation and impatient enthusiasm which are primarily responsible for delaying the progress of the movement are being rectified. Consolidation and introspection are now the twin watchwords of the movement. Public sympathy is being enlisted and if the number of rich men who will take up the honorary work were to increase there would be real progress and prosperity. The findings of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee are neatly summarised on p. 109.

Though the province is predominantly an agricultural one still the Government spared no efforts to improve the cottage industries. In spite of public apathy and indifference notable results have been reaped and various handicrafts have been revived. The variety of technical education offered by the various institutes is noteworthy. This may go a long way in finding a solution for the unemployment problem amongst the middle classes. The training of artisans and weavers in the Government institutes, the introducing of new labour-saving mechanical appliances and the financing of cottage industries form the most welcome features. But the lack of suitable collateral security offered by the cottage industries has often led to a loss of the actual sums loaned out by the Industries Department.

Political unrest, communal ill-feeling, labour unrest and unrest among students caused anxious days to the Government. The inaugurating of Aman Sabhas and counter-propaganda on a vast scale were partly responsible for the maintenance of law and order but the situation is dark and gloomy as the budgetary position of the province is not satisfactory. Agricultural slump, trade depression, and decreasing excise revenue mean lesser revenues and even drastic economies will not improve the situation. Further expansion in the nation-building departments will have to be delayed if financial bankruptcy is to be staved off.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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**Civics for Indian Students**—By S. C MITRA and R. C. ADHIKARY—1931, S. C. Auddy & Co., Price Rs. 2-8, pp. 439.

This is an attempt to state in a lucid and concise manner the principles that students of Civics ought to study for their University Examinations. The elements of Economics, Politics and Indian Administration are neatly stated in a compact form. A suitable list of references at the end of each chapter would enable the readers to make further references. We recommend this book as a safe and reliable guide book to the increasing member of students of the subject of Civics.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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**Economics of Agricultural Progress**—By B. G. Sapre, M.A., Sangli, pp. 204. 1926.

This brief monograph analyses carefully the foundations of agricultural prosperity. It pays the general reader to go through such volumes which embody a very fair and accurate description and present in a concise form the suggestions made for ameliorating the situation. Starting with the fundamental assumption that agricultural improvement is the only real solvent for our political and social problems the author directs his attention towards the standard of living of the rural masses and all his suggestions are directed towards raising the intellectual, economic and moral conditions of the rural masses.

Written at a time when the Royal Commission on Agriculture was examining the problem, the author did substantial help in making the people realise the necessity of agricultural reform. Improved implements, consolidation of holdings, agricultural research, improved irrigational facilities, better breed of cattle and selected seeds, carefuly selected manures and agricultural education are the important planks of his agricultural reform. It is an enthusiastic piece of research work dealing with the agricultural conditions of the Bombay Deccan.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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**Plantation Labour in India**—By Rajanikanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D. Published by S. K. Das. Prabasi Press. Price Rs. 3, pp. 194.

This is an excellent piece of work. Dr. Das is a master of the labour problems of this country and we find a careful and well-balanced account of the rise, growth, present condition and problems of the workers employed on various plantations in India, especially on the tea gardens in Assam. The author's aspiration was to indicate the main problems facing the employers and the employees working in the plantation industries. The formulation of well-directed social policy to which the labourers, the employers and the Government have to make substantial contributions is the only method by which their welfare can be secured.

Apart from presenting a clear and concise historical and statistical survey of the plantation labour in India, the author analyses the main problems under the following headings, the problem of permanent labour supply, the problem of securing improved working conditions, the problem of enacting suitable social legislation to elevate the industrial conditions and the problem of organising the illiterate plantation labourers.

As the plantation industry contributes materially towards the economic progress of the country no efforts should be spared by the Provincial and the all-India Governments to give it a prominent place in the national economy of the country, Legislative measures, welfare work, organised trade union work and co-operation with the International Labour Conference would alleviate the situation to a great extent. The social, political and industrial status of the workers has to be raised. Strong public opinion should endeavour to pass a progressive set of labour regulations, secure a cheap transportation system, facilitate the mobility of labour by giving accurate and reliable information concerning the

opportunities for work and aim at improving the general level of culture among the masses.

A bibliography of useful books is attached and this will provide the needed information on this important subject.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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**Regulation of Banks in India.**—By M. L. Tannan, M.Com., I.E.S., Principal, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay. Published by D. B. Taraporewala & Sons. 1931. Price Re. 1, pp. 28.

This is a small monograph advocating special legislation for regulating our banking organization with the view of accelerating the development of sound banking in this country. He envisages the subject under the following headings, *viz.*, proper organisation, efficient management, reasonable supervision, protection of banks against malevolent propaganda, and regulation of the immigrant banks.

The problem of stability in banking could have been satisfactorily solved, if only the very first attempts made by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in the years 1845 and 1846 had been successful. But unfortunately their attempts were foiled and the policy of *laissez faire* has continued unchecked to this day.

With suitable historical parallels quoted in support of his line of reasoning Principal Tannan, like the other earlier writers, argues in favour of reasonable restrictions being imposed on the different operations of the joint-stock banking companies. It is not clear whether the use of the word " bank " and " banker " by the indigenous banking firm and the banker is to be tolerated or not.

It is undoubtedly true that proper internal checks and external control carefully enforced by a trained body of bank examiners would solve the problem of banking safety. In order to realise his cherished consummation he proposes a banking department to enforce the different regulations outlined by him. Only he is a little bit overgenerous in the matter of fixing the scale of salaries to be paid to the officers of this new banking department.

On p. 23, he justly remarks that " it is not known why the statistics relating to the *number of cheques* cleared in the different clearing houses are not published even if they are collected." Much more has to be done in the direction of collecting banking statistics and these should be

expeditiously published in a suitable form for the general enlightenment of the Indian public.

We commend this small monograph to all interested in the subject of banking.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

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**Europe's Debt to Islam**—By Mr. Syed M. H. Zaidi.

I have carefully gone through this book. Within the small compass of the book, the author has admirably catalogued the varied and manifold activities of the Musalmans in the different departments of arts, sciences and industries. Islam's contribution to civilization is well-known to scholars and historians. But the ordinary educated men have very little idea as to how far the present-day civilization of the West is indebted to Islam. The author has made it abundantly clear that the light of Islam was shining bright and refulgent when the western countries were steeped in deep gloom of ignorance and barbarism. To-day the followers of Islam have fallen very low from the high pedestal of Islam and do not seem to remember the past glories of Islam. In these days of national consciousness the author has done a positive service to the Muslim young men by recalling to their mind the past glories and high traditions of Islam. The aim and object of the author is highly admirable and I hope that the book will stir a sense of pride and self-respect in the minds of the Musalmans and will at the same time make it known to the general public how the light of Islam diffused through the West and contributed to and coloured the modern western civilization.

MOHD. ISHAQUE

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# Ourselves

## A New Ph.D.

Mr. B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis entitled "Early Banking Institutions in Bombay and their Lessons, 1720-1857."

* * *

## Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931.

Mr. Bipinchandra Pal has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931 on the usual terms and conditions, the subject of his lectures being the place of Girischandra Ghosh in Modern Bengali Stage and Drama.

* * *

## Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for 1930.

A gold medal of the value of Rs. 150 will be awarded to each of the following candidates for the Sir Asutosh Mookherjee Medal in Letters for 1930.

| Name of Candidates. | Name of Theses. |
|---|---|
| Mr. Sukumar Sen ... | ... "A Grammar of the Brajabuli Dialect" |
| Mr. Narendrakrishna Singha | ... "India and Afghanistan during Forty Years preceding the First Afghan War." |

* * *

## Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer for 1931.

Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, M.A., D.Sc., has been appointed Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer for 1931 on the usual terms and conditions, the subject of his lectures being Chemistry and Industrial Development in India.

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## THE BEERESWAR MITRA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1932.

The date for submission of theses for the Beereswar Mitra Gold medal for 1932 is extended up to 31st December, 1931.

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## RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY EXMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, held in July, 1931, was 741 of whom 230 were absent, and 1 was expelled. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 511 of whom 285 passed and 225 failed.

Of the successful candidates 23 were placed in Class I, and 262 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 55·77.

* * *

## RESULTS OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law, held in July, 1931, was 544 of whom 341 passed, 84 failed, none was expelled and 119 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 42 were placed in Class I and 299 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 80·2.

* * *

## RESULT OF THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law, held in July, 1931, was 765 of whom 335 passed, 124 failed, 1 was expelled and 305 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 36 were placed in Class I and 299 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 72·8.

* * *

## Result of the I. E. Examination, 1931.

### *I. E., Section A.*

Fifty-six candidates were registered in connection with this examination. Of these one was registered for Mathematics only, having already qualified in the Groups Chemistry and Physics. Two were registered in Physics only, having already qualified in Mathematics and Chemistry.

Of the fifty-three who presented themselves in all groups, twenty-eight passed in all groups ; twenty-four were partially successful, thirteen failing to qualify in Mathematics only, three in Physics only, and one in Chemistry only. One failed completely.

The one candidate who appeared in Mathematics only failed. Of the two who appeared in Physics only, one qualified. Thus twenty-nine have passed and have now completed I. E., Section A.

### *I. E., Section B.*

Eighty-one candidates were definitely registered for this examination and two were provisionally registered subject to their completing Section A. Of these two only one qualified in Section A. The number therefore validly registered for this examination was eighty-two ; of these forty-four passed and thirty-eight failed.

Of the nine B.Sc. candidates (included in the eighty-two) who were validly registered for this examination, and therefore appeared in Section B only, five passed and four failed.

* * *

## Result of the B. E. Examination, 1931, in Civil Engineering.

### *Non-Professional Section.*

Thirty-eight candidates were registered in connection with this examination; of these, five were registered for Mathematics only. Thirty-eight were present. Of the thirty-three candidates who presented themselves for the whole examination, nine failed to qualify in Mathematics. Thirty-three qualified in Science. Of the five candidates who had qualified previously in Science and appeared in Mathematics only three qualified in Mathematics and thus completed the Examination. Thus, 27 have qualified.

### *Professional Section (Civil Engineering).*

Twenty-four candidates who had previously qualified in the Non-Professional Section were registered ; two candidates also were provisionally registered subject to completing the Non-Professional Section. Of these two candidates, one qualified. The number therefore validly registered was twenty-five.

Of these twenty-five candidates, none passed in the First Division, twenty passed in the Second Division and five failed.

* * *

## Result of the B. E. Examination, 1931, in Mechanical Engineering.

### *Non-Professional Section.*

Two candidates were registered in connection with this examination. Two were present and two qualified.

### *Professional Section.*

No candidates were registered this year.

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RESULT OF THE D. P. H. EXAMINATION, PART I, AUGUST 1931.

The number of candidate registered for the D. P. H. Examination, Part I, held in August 1931, was 1 and he has passed.

* * *

MODIFICATION PROPOSED IN THE SCHOOL CODE.

A letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, forwarding, in reply to this Office letter No. Misc. 4583-P, dated the 13th March, 1931, forwarding a copy of Government Order No. 1927-Edn., dated the 17th July, 1931, with its enclosures, regarding duties of schools in relation to the approved lists of books.

The letter containing the Government Order reads thus :—

"No. 1927-Edn.

FROM

A. J. DASH, ESQ., I.C.S.,

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal,*

To

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BENGAL.

*Calcutta, the 17th/18th July, 1931.*

THE HON'BLE MR. K. NAZIMUDDIN, C.I.E.,

*Minister-in-Charge.*

SIR,

I am directed to refer to the Rules for the working of the Provincial Text-Book Committee, which were approved in this Government letter No. 4429-Edn., dated the 11th November, 1927, and to state that the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) have decided that rules 21-24 of these rules should be replaced by the rules appended to this letter.

The Calcutta University may be informed accordingly.

I have, etc.,

A. J. DASH,

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal*"

The revised rules runs as follows :—

"*Duties of Schools in relation to the approved lists of books* :

21. All text-books used in Government and Government aided schools shall be selected from the list of authorised text-books, and managers of aided schools are liable, if they use any text-book not included in the authorised list, to

(*a*) forfeiture of grant-in-aid,

(*b*) forfeiture of scholarship rights.

22. The selection of text-books for an unaided High School shall be made, after due consideration of the list of authorised books approved by the Director of Public Instruction on the recommendation of the Provincial Text-Book Committee, by the Head Master with the approval of the Managing Committee of the school (*vide* rule 36 of the School Code).

23. If the Inspector of Schools is of opinion that an undesirable book has been prescribed for any unaided High School, he should bring the fact to the notice of the Managing Committee, and, if necessary, communicate with the University on the subject.

24. Candidates from an unaided Middle School are liable to be excluded from competition for a Government Scholarship if text-books, which are not on the authorised list, are in use in the school in question."

*Note.*—In this Office letter No. Misc. 4583-P, dated the 13th March, 1931, referred to by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, the following extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate (Item No. 4 of 26th February, 1931) were forwarded to him :—

"4. Read a letter from the Secretary, Provincial Text-book Committee, Calcutta, on the subject of the rules of the Committee.

*Resolved*—That the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, be requested to move the Government to modify the

rule in question and that he be informed that on hearing from the Government the University will be prepared to revise the School Code as indicated below :—

The following words will be inserted after the words " Head Master " in Rule 36 of the School Code :—

'.....after duly considering the list of books prescribed by the Central Text-book Committee.

Rule 36 (A)—If the Inspector of Schools is of opinion that an undesirable book has been prescribed for any unaided school, he should bring that fact to the notice of the Managing Committee, and, if necessary, communicate with the University on the subject.' "

* * *

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1931

## DANTE

Why has there been so much written about Dante? Why are there so many lectures delivered on Dante? Why do so many people who do not even know Dante's language find in his writings great comfort, even when all other consolation fails? What has given Dante so much power over people? This great medieval writer was a man of the strongest character who hated evil as few have hated it and yet loved as only a few have loved; he was always controlled by the best motives, but was strongly attached to the best in life ; he was desirous for poetical excellence and renown, yet vastly more anxious for the good of the universe than for his own personal glory ; he cared more for his mind than for his body, and more for his spirit than for the riches of the mind; he did not fear criticism, yet he was sensitive to fame ; he loved his fellow men but loved truth and righteousness more ; he was burdened with useless and false knowledge, yet through it he found the true wisdom; he lost the road to pleasure, yet found the road to power and to God.

Dante lived in a time so different from our own that in order to appreciate him as we should, we must know something about the time in which he lived, its great political contentions, its religious ideals, and its conceptions of the universe. The great poet who was born in Florence in May 1265 was the son of

Alighieri de Bellincione degli Alighieri. There is not a great deal to be found concerning Dante's life. The most positive thing about his youth is the most elusive—his love for Beatrice Portinari. At a May Day Festival he met her when she was eight years old. He always remembered every detail of that day. She wore a little red dress trimmed and girdled "as best suited her very tender age," so Dante himself tells us. These two children played together and little Dante loved her, not with the affection of his years, but always with the pure, fierce passion of those who will never love but once. As these children grew older, they saw each other less frequently but this only made Dante love Beatrice the more. Surely absence made his heart grow fonder. It was such a mystic worship which he paid her that he scarcely dared to touch her hand. Just to look upon her face filled him with holy fear. He tried to conceal his passion from the world but the hidden fury of it made him so pale that his friends wondered what was the matter with him. Finally he told them he was in love but he mentioned someone else rather than Beatrice. This infuriated Beatrice when she heard it, and she did not greet him the next time they met. Then Dante, grief-stricken, sent her verses, which, for the first time, proclaimed to her his adoration and his love. There is not a great deal known about Beatrice's feelings towards Dante, but Dante himself said that she used to grow pale "from pity" when she saw him ; but when she was twenty-one she married the man of her father's choice. In his writings, Dante never refers to the marriage of Beatrice but in the *Vita Nuova* he mentions a nuptial feast where the vision of Beatrice caused him an anguish beyond his strength. Perhaps this was the wedding of Beatrice?

The *Divina Commedia* is more than the beginning of a language and the opening of a national literature ; it is more than the glory of a great people or the inspirer of art. It is a rare and radiant monument of the mind's power, which towers up for ever as time goes on, and marks out its advance by grander

divisions than by its centuries. It opens European literature as did the *Iliad* for Greece and Rome and, like the *Iliad*, it has never become out of date. The *Divina Commedia* is singular among the great works with which it ranks because of its strong mark of personal character. Although it is one of the loftiest, if not the loftiest of poems, it is also one of the most individual because the writer's own life is recorded in it as well as the turmoil of the time. It is a mirror which reflects the good and the bad.

When Dante was twenty-four hostilities broke out between his city and Arezzo. The great bell that hung in the archway of the gate of Santa Maria in Florence was rung to call the inhabitants to arms. Among the soldiers was Dante who was still dreaming of Beatrice. The struggle lasted two years. Then there was a glorious home-coming to Florence but Dante's happiness was ephemeral for, a few months after his return, Beatrice died. Yes, the lady of his mystic passion died early but he dreamed of her still, not as a wonder of earth, but as an angel in Paradise. For awhile after her death, Dante was grieved and he shut himself up in absolute seclusion. But since he was too great a man to continue in such a state he devoted his time to writing and to study. He collected all the verses he had written during the life-time of Beatrice and added some exquisitely superb lamentations, and he strung them together like jewels upon a connecting thread of prose. This little book he called the *Vita Nuova.* The lover became the student, the student of the thirteenth century, fighting and struggling to overcome obstacles, zealous for knowledge, filled with the passion for universal knowledge, and the desire to communicate it. The ideal which filled his soul had been turned into Philosophy. For Beatrice he wrote allegorical poems and commented on them with all the powers of his learning. Later it is said that he married, but not happily. As time went on, he became a burgher of Florence, the father of a family, a politician, an envoy, a magistrate, a partisan, and he took full share in the quarrels of

the day. Finally he appeared at once as an exile and the poet of the *Commedia*. Around the image of Beatrice, the reflection of purity, and truth, and forbearing love, was grouped that confused scene of failure and success, which the poet saw around him. The living memory of Beatrice accentuated by sorrow and seen through the softening years gave the idea and suggested the form of the "sacred poem of earth and heaven."

No doubt the factions of Florence helps to make Dante a great poet for he learned in the bitter feuds of Italy not to trifle. They opened his eyes and the idea of the *Commedia* took shape. The connection of these feuds with Dante's poem has given to medieval history of Italy an interest of which it is not undeserving in itself. The year of Dante's birth was a memorable one in the annals of Florence, of Italy, and Christendom. The year 1265 was when that great victory of Benevento took place, when Charles of Anjou overthrew Manfred of Naples and destroyed at one blow the power of the house of Swabia. From that time until the time of Charles V, the emperors had no footing in Italy. There were nearly three centuries of degradation and scandal, unrelieved by one heroic efforts among the successors of Gregory VII, which connected the Reformation with the triumph of Charles and the Pope Benevento. By it the Guelf party was restored for good in Florence ; the Guelf democracy, which had been trampled down by the Uberti and Manfred's chivalry at Monteaperti, once more came into the background. The names of Guelf and Ghibelline were the inheritance of a contest which in its original meaning had been finished long ago. The old struggle between the priesthood and the empire was still kept up by tradition, although its ideas and its interests were changed. They were still great important ones but not those of Gregory VII. It had passed over from the mixed region of the spiritual and temporal into the purely political. The story of the Guelf and Ghibelline is too long to tell here ; moreover lovers of Dante are acquainted with it. About 1289 Dante began to take his political place in Florence, Italy, first as a member

of the Municipal Council and in 1300 as one of the Priors of the city. The old Guelf and Ghibelline had given place to the Whites and Blacks. Dante adhered to neither party but supported the one or the other "according to the dictates of his conscience." He led his compatriots in hurling defiance at Boniface VIII when the Pontiff threatened the liberty of Florence. The Pope announced that he intended to despatch to Italy Charles of Valois, the brother of the French King, to make peace between the factions. Dante was sent to Rome as an ambassador to try to turn aside this move. One day a messenger took Dante news from home. Charles of Valois, with twelve hundred horsemen, had demanded admission to Florence as a "Peacemaker." Charles swore an oath that he had come in peace and friendship to put an end to party strife. It would have been no worse for Florence if Satan and all his demons had been allowed to enter. As soon as Charles went into the town he instructed his soldiers to plunder everything they could get their hands on. Charles established one of his creatures as magistrate and the latter accused Dante of fraud. He was sentenced to a heavy fine and if he did not pay it within thirty days all his goods would be seized. He was banished from his own city for two years. Then he began his bitter wanderings which lasted the rest of his life. In the *Convito* he says that he had been a ship without a sail. He found out how hard the going up and down another's stairs was. All the time he took with him the manuscript of his *Divine Comedy*. Then it was called the *Comedy* for the Italians put the "Divine" before it after his death.

The theme of the *Divine Comedy* is a most familiar one. Since the days of Virgil, poets had written of journeys through the other world. The *Commedia* is divided into three books which treat of Dante's journey through the three realms of Hades, Purgatory and Heaven. In the beginning of the poem, Dante describes how, after wandering one dark night in a dreadful forest, he emerged in the early morning to find himself at the

foot of a hill that was flooded with sunshine. As he was about to go down, he was confronted by three horrible beasts—a leopard, a lion, and a she-wolf. The forest is supposed to be symbolic of a sinful state ; the mountain shining in the sunrise is the mountain of salvation illumined by the light of God's grace ; the three animals typify the pleasures of the world. On his last journey through Paradise, Dante beheld the entire region spread out before him. By a special grace from God, Dante's mortal eyes were strengthened to endure the unveiled glory of the Trinity, and as he gazed, his knowledge of all things grew. Here the song is discontinued and how could even Dante Alighieri tell any more? He reminds us that the *eye hath not seen nor the ear heard nor hath it entered into the heart of man what things God has prepared for them that love Him.*

No great poet's work really suffers from contact with the crowd. There will always be a large number of uneducated ready to be touched by the best, however much they may miss the subtler delicacies of artistic work, and it is impossible for the most commonplace audiences to harm a great writer ; while on the other hand, the greater the writer, the more certainly there is of his sowing seeds of incalculable value in the minds of the most commonplace audience. As in music, for example, the greatest masters always make themselves felt, however much the general taste may have been debased by dance halls. The solemn awe in the sacred cabinet of the Sistine Madonna is not confined to the cultured few. Indeed it is the possession and the privilege of the many. This same thing must be true in regard to literature. Probably few things in literature approach in exciting, breathless interest, the seven opening cantos of the *Inferno*. They carry one strongly along and their effect is like the first sight of the ocean. The opening of the *Inferno* is certainly most impressive.

> "Midway upon the journey of our life
> I found myself within a forest dark,
> For the straightforward pathway had been lost."

Indeed it may be said of some of the cantos that one begins by making extracts, but one ends by extracting every word. The epithets are most original: "Mute of all light;" "where the sun is silent;" the rain "eternal maledict and cold and heavy;" "the air without a star;" the "sound of hands;" "the embrowned air;" the "water sombre-hued." These are the finest qualities in Dante's style: simplicity, strength, compression, and tenderness.

Dante's first meeting with Beatrice is interesting. Though taken from the *Vita Nuova* it has a certain charm of its own in the Boccacian style, which is thus roughly transcribed:

"It used to be the habit of the ladies and the gentlemen of Florence, when the sweet springtime arrived, to give themselves up to social enjoyments, each in his own circle of society. Following the custom, a worthy citizen, Folco Portinari, had invited his neighbours to assemble at his house upon the first of May. Among the company was Alighieri, the father of Dante, who brought his boy, then scarcely nine years of age. And it happened that Bice, the daughter of Folco, was there too, a maiden not yet passed her eighth year, graceful, charming, and attractive in her manners, of beautiful countenance, and grave beyond her years. Her very delicate features were in admirable harmony, and over and above their beauty, revealed such candid charms, that by many she was said to be almost an angel. Dante's gaze was riveted on her with so great an affection that, child though she was, he received her so deeply into his soul that no other after pleasure ever effected the lovely image. And this love not only persisted, but it increased to such a degree that Dante had no greater desire, and no greater consolation than to see her who was its object. As he advanced in life, this passion very often occasioned him both sighs and tears, which are poured forth in his *Vita Nuova*. It ought to be added that his love was a very pure love, which is rare in passions of this kind." This was the great influence in Dante's life and it is impossible to understand the *Divina Commedia* without some theory regarding

this relation to Beatrice. She reigns supreme as a vital part of himself, from the first word to the last.

> "From the first day that I beheld her face
> In this life to the moment of this look,
> The sequence of my song has ne'er been severed."

The interest of the drama, in the *Comedy*, centers in the ascent of that soul of his. The more one studies the poem, the more one feels that the most dominant note throughout is the author's personality ; and one way of understanding its meaning is to conceive that the journey records in the vision are to be accounted for by Dante's own faithlessness, both in the flesh and in the spirit, to his ideal, to his higher nature, to Beatrice. Such a work as the *Divine Comedy* with a scope so vast and a treatment so elaborate, demands the sacrifice of a life. The extraordinary compression of thought, the variety and intensity of the imagery, the great mass of historical references and mythical allusions and their exactitude, requires a mind wholly disengaged from the ordinary business of the world ; and it may be that Dante's exile, although the most bitter thing he experienced in his life-time, has been the means of securing his true immortality as nothing else could have done. The *Divina Commedia* alone has made him immortal. The allusions to his exile are very numerous in his writings and they are very touching. "I have compassion for all unhappy people, but my greatest compassion is reserved for those, who eating out their hearts in exile, see their native land only in their dreams." Indeed, it is only in the most rarely tempered natures that the uses of adversity sweeten the disposition. They usually turn the unforgiving to gall.

Some people may feel that the concentrated essence of Dante's mental food is too strong for them but they will never, once having tested it, cease to return many times to that rich banquet. It is true to-day as in 1300 that

> "Avarice afflicts the world,
> Trampling the good and lifting the depraved." [1]

[1] Inf. XIX, line 104.

Dante will always remain extremely modern, for human nature is always the same. In the *Purgatorio* there are single lines better than many whole lectures or sermons. "Pensa che questo di mai non raggiorna." [1] Not only that the sweet air which by the sun is gladdened to-day has passed away for ever, but that we, too, may have passed by on the other side, unheeding the sorrow we might have lightened, the joy we might have welcomed, the love we might have strengthened, the pain we might have lessened. Have we made some one happy to-day? Each day is a renewal of our opportunities while we live until the day comes when there is no renewal. This is a single line, which, whatever man's differing religious profession may be, the whole human race can go on repeating until the last as one of the ultimate expressions of life :

"Pensa che questo di mai non raggiorna."

What all sects claim in reading Dante is the untrammeled freedom of the reason as well as the imagination. Consequently, the interpretations are as numerous as the readers, but not a single reader goes away empty. There is something for everybody. One of the fundamental ideas of the *Comedy*, as of the Bible, consists in the precept, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." [2] If one could conceive of a world where the doctrine was not only preached but practised, we could conceive of a world without sin. For surely all sin or wrongdoing is referable to the love of self, instead of love of others ; and the love of others is the love of God, for "God is love." (*Cf.* Inf., i. 39 ; Par. xxxiii. 145). In these three words of St. John lie the foundation and the reconciliation of all religions. Hell can never be reached except when the love of sin is dead within us, whether we regard Hell as an actual place of torment or as a subjective

[1] Purg., XII. 84 : "Think that this day will never dawn again."

[2] Love must be the seed within yourselves of every virtue and every act that merits punishment." Purg., XVII. 103, or, as Beatrice very beautifully puts it, "Of those things only should one be afraid which have the power of doing others harm."

mental and moral state. Just as long as there is love for others in our hearts there is hope, and that is the secret of Christ. No one has shown more clearly than Dante how treachery, fraud, covetousness, pride, anger, sloth, and other sins have their common root in the love of self. One will, indeed, find in Dante, if he is seeking in any wise to leave this confused world a little better than he found it, a great example.

In Dante, different admirers find different things to admire, for there are as many facets to Dante's genius as there are to a well-cut stone. Dante was really an allegorist and as such properly esteemed but his early commentators seemed to find in his work many meanings that were not really there. Just as some people have given to the Bible any meaning which might suit their purpose at any particular time, so Dante's commentators have found in single phrases whatever their particular whim might suggest.

Dante must be read in the medieval way and he must be read slowly and aloud. One cannot hurry when one reads Dante. Not a backward look does Dante once cast. "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." When, on his allegorical journey, Dante reaches with Virgil, his guide, the entrance of Purgatory, the heavenly keeper warns the travellers of their danger :

> "The angel pusht the sacred portal wide,
> And said, "Now enter, but I caution you
> That he who looks behind must go outside."

Dante believed that sin is a wicked act of the will and it consists in an erroneous choice between the good and wicked. As Dante weaves a spell over us, we seem to hear the cry he himself heard when Virgil joined the company of great singers : "All honor to the loftiest of poets."

LOUISE A. NELSON

# INDIA—THE GOLD STANDARD—THE PRESENT CRISIS[1]

The dominant concern at the present time is the subject of the gold standard. Mr. Philip Showdon has announced his intention of summoning an International Conference to discuss the possibility of bringing an equitable distribution of gold and thus internationalise the gold standard.

But what is the modern gold standard whose meaning, scope, limitation and interpretation are radically different from that of the pre-war gold standard and whose suspension has created so much stir. A country is said to be on the modern gold standard when the domestic currency or monetary units are made convertible into a definite fixed weight of gold. There is either *de facto* or *de jure* linking to gold. The value of all commodities and services are measured in gold and all deferred payments are made payable in legal tender money which itself is convertible into gold bullion bars. Gold is used as the backing for internal currency and used for adjusting international obligations arising out of a multitude of individual payments, exchange of securities and services on the part of the people of one nation to another. If gold has won an accepted position as a regulator and governor of commercial and financial values in any country it can be stated that that country is on the gold standard.

In England the relationship between gold and the other money units is fixed arbitrarily and artificially by the Bank Act which says that the Bank of England must sell gold on offer of other forms of legal tender money at the rate of 400 ounces at £ 3-17*s*.-10*d*. and ½ an ounce. An abrogation of this sale of gold means the suspension of the gold standard by the country. This is the most liberal interpretation of the meaning

[1] This paper was read before a meeting of the Bengal Economic Society on 5th Oct., 1931 Mr. D. P. Khaitan—Member of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee presided and extolled the highly scientific character and the accuracy of trained processes of economic reasoning indicated in the discussion of the subject,

of the suspension of the gold standard one can give. Norway, Sweden and Denmark are off the gold standard already. It would not be a surprise if the other debtor countries of the world finding it impossible to part with their dwindling stocks of gold determine to be off the gold standard. These countries might try to refuse to tie "their currency and price-level ships to the common buoy-gold."—Unstable currencies with bewildering rates of exchanges will be the prevailing monetary phenomenon.

The following table shows the gold holdings of the Central Banks of some of the important countries. If some of these do depart from the gold standard as a result of the departure of gold from the banking system there would be no surprise.

*Gold in Millions of Dollars.* [2]

| Country. | Held at the end of 1930. | Increase 1925-1930. | Decrease 1925-1930. |
|---|---|---|---|
| U. S. A. | 4225 | 240 | — |
| France | 2,099 | 1,388 | — |
| United Kingdom | 722 | 18 | — |
| Germany | 544 | 241 | — |
| Spain | 471 | — | 19 |
| Japan | 412 | — | 164 |
| Argentina | 411 | — | 25 |
| Italy | 279 | 58 | — |
| Russia | 249 | 155 | — |
| Canada | 194 | — | 32 |
| Belgium | 191 | 138 | — |
| Netherlands | 171 | — | 7 |
| Switzerland | 138 | 48 | — |
| India | 126 | 17 | — |
| Total- | 10,232 | 2,303 | 247 |

[2] This table is taken from the Statistics of Gold Movements in the selected Documents on the Distribution of Gold submitted to the Gold Delegation of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, pp. 65-67.

The small holdings are not taken into account in the above table. Australia, Brazil, Chile, Dutch, East Indies and Denmark have lost gold to a certain extent, while Poland, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have increased their gold holdings.

*The Gold Standard in India.*

Even according to the previous understanding of the gold standard system the present-day Indian currency system cannot be said to be a gold standard one. Some of the Indian economists refuse to consider the Indian currency standard as a gold standard one.[1] The values of goods and services in the country are measured in terms of the rupee. But the psychological abstraction of the "gold rupee" which the gold bullion standard requires is not realised by anybody. The postponing of the standard and the Reserve Bank bill of 1928 meant that a kind of exchange standard is being maintained. But in the remote sense that the rupee was converted into pound sterling, currency which was equivalent to gold we can indirectly claim to be on the gold standard basis.[2] However, there is a world of difference between the giving of gold, bars and sterling. No sooner was sterling given for domestic currency the rate of exchange became the arbiter of the volume of currency. Instead of changes in the internal purchasing power of money from its parity with gold being considered as the proper data for ascertaining the deficiency or superabundance of money, the rate of exchange has become the all-important factor. Thus India has been on the gold exchange standard basis.

[1] See Prof. K. T. Shah, Evidence, Hilton-Young Commission, Qn. 8870.

[2] The Macmillan Committee says "For an effective working of the gold standard it is sufficient if the local currency is exchangeable for another currency which is itself convertible into gold," p. 19.

*Misguided Enthusiasm.*

There are several people who entertain highly elated notions concerning the desirability of suspending the gold standard at this juncture. Whether gold is to be had or not the mere suspension would grant a temporary fillip to trade which would have to be greatly welcomed in the days of world depression. But the export bounty arising out of depreciated currency cannot be reaped if a large number of countries are off the gold standard. Traders and businessmen who feel the pinch of ready capital which cannot be obtained at low rates of interest denounce the rigid gold standard as a "fraudulent standard." But without convertibility into gold the currency standard can be vigorously abused to secure certain temporary measures. Hence the twin methods by which the efficiency of any monetary system is secured are the well-known principles of convertibility and limitation. The first might be a mere facilitating principle but without the observance of the second there can be no successful regulation of the currency standard. Without proper observance of the limitation principle the test of convertibility cannot be secured for any considerable length of time. Both can exist together and flourish like the proverbial Siamese twins. The existence of both these safeguards will make the standard "knave-proof or fool-proof." I strongly demur to the false notions of elation and illusory prosperity which are supposed to be the attendant advantages on a country pursuing the path of the suspension of the gold standard. Mere suspension by itself is not attendant with grave risks. But it means you have set foot on the inclined plane and there will likely be a rapid downward slide. Mr. McKenna correctly observes that "the fear of being forced off the gold standard acts as a salutary check on the extravagance of Governments who might be willing to face a mere fluctuation in exchange but would not dare to suspend the specie payments."

*India off the Gold Standard.*

The Ratio Act of 1927 has familiarised the people with the conception of the "gold rupee." The rupee was linked to 8·4751 grains of gold. Domestic silver rupees and paper currency are to be converted in certain minimum quantities into gold bullion bars of 1065 tolas at Rs. 21 11 as. 9 p. per tola each. These gold bullion bars which ought to be available to the people *whenever and for whatever* purposes they demanded it, have not been made available even for exportation purposes. But to discharge this obligation sterling, which was equivalent to gold, was allowed to be given at 1*s*.-5*d* and 49/64 *d*. It was *not actual practical conversion* into gold bullion bars but *mere theoretical authorisation* that existed in the Indian Gold Bullion standard system. This regulated goldless silver rupee standard commonly designated as the gold bullion standard has broken down at the present time. Due to the lack of gold bullion bars the provision for the sale of these proved to be a mere eye-wash and the *de jure* gold bullion standard worked out in the practical field proved to be a mere *de facto* gold exchange standard. The convertible rupee was converted into sterling or gold exchange. The suspension of the gold standard in England completely altered the position for the sterling has become an inconvertible paper currency whose internal value at least ought to depend on mere output. If budgetary or fiscal causes were to inflate the paper pound sterling it would become depreciated in value. Instead of considering the present moment as a grave emergency and suspending the sale of gold or sterling according to the Act of 1927 the rupee has been linked to sterling at 1*s*.-6*d*. ratio, even without the consultation of Indian public opinion.[1] The Finance Member is no longer calm and at ease. Like the sea

[1] The pros and cons of linking the rupee to sterling or gold or leaving it to find its normal level are carefully elaborated in Appendix I.

captain who, finding his ship moored to a buoy that has been anchored to nothing, feels ill at ease so also our Indian Finance Member finds his currency ship anchored to the sterling buoy which finds itself drifting wherever the currents of political uncertainty or financial instability might tend to take it.[1]

*Practical Consequences.*

The first Ordinance suspending the sale of reverse drafts according to the terms of the 1927 Act was wisely conceived and boldly promulgated. The Bank of France had on several occasions to suspend cash payments. The British Government often suspended the Bank Charter Act. Such suspensions can be easily justified on the ground of national emergency. The failure to operate an inconvenient ratio meant after all exchange instability. Exchange would have been forced to find its own level. The independent rupee not convertible into sterling or gold would have depended for its internal value on careful regulation. Its immediate external value might have been depending on the confidence reposed in its stability by foreign businessmen and traders. Though a temporary set-back might result due to lack of confidence she would have quickly recovered from the shock. The external value of the rupee would have been proved by its own virtue. There would perhaps be no surprise if it were to fall to a level worth its weight in silver. This would certainly take place under a regime of inflation. But the evils of fluctuating exchange have been magnified though authoritative Committees[2] have reiterated the opinion that, exchange stability is a matter of convenience and "important facility and not an essential condition." Indian trade flourished during times of unstable exchanges. The experiences of

1 See the Report of the Babington Smith Committee, Para. 34.

2 I am indebted to Sir H. Strakosch for this metaphor.

1870-1890 need not be recounted. Even during the days of rising exchange, as in the years 1921-1925, trade did flourish.

At the behest of the Secretary of State for India the rupee has been linked to sterling which has depreciated in terms of gold. This enforced departure from the *de jure* gold bullion standard or the hardened *de facto* gold exchange standard has destroyed public faith in the rupee or the monetary unit. This alteration of the monetary standard is nothing but a serious moral offence and a violently grave breach of national faith as the gold standard countries would put it. This arbitrary fiat can be justified on the plea of grave economic necessity. But the end has to justify the means. If external trade and internal business operations which have almost come to a stand-still on account of the high internal value of the gold rupee were to be rejuvenated by this alteration of the legal standard there would be some justification. But it is too early to say how real good can be conferred on India by this measure. Will it be anything more than a temporary solution if the rupee is linked to sterling and the more fundamental cause for bringing about relative stabilisation of international prices is neglected ?

### *Economic Implications.*

The implications of this sudden departure from the administrative practice of the Government have to be fully realised. Firstly, it means that the Secretary of State is all influential in initiating any monetary policy and carrying it out even without consulting the wishes of the Government of India or Indian Legislative Assembly. A matter-of-fact economist of my stamp cannot hope to comment on this situation exceptly repeating the conviction that the present-day regime of divided financial control between Whitehall and Simla has to be remedied at the earliest possible opportunity.

Secondly, it has made the currency authority control all exchange operations so that the contractual obligations of genuine traders and the real domestic requirements might be fulfilled on 1*s*.6*d* sterling basis. Illegitimate and speculative requirements would be curbed to a certain extent and in so far as the Ordinance can be avoided there would tend to be a drain of gold resources of the Government. Exchange control was once experimented in 1920. Reverse Councils were sold in limited quantities to the specially selected banks. The needs of the genuine small remitter were not only overlooked but as soon as it was known that rationing was to be practised the applicants always exaggerated their real requirements so that their actual allotment done on a *pro rata* basis might come up to their real requirements. That was how deception was practised. It is part of human nature to resort to subterfuges, good, bad or indifferent when individual liberty is cut down.

Thirdly, the Imperial Bank of India has been placed in a position to control the exchange operations. It would thereby enable it to learn the technique of the exchange operations and make it fit to transact exchange operations on a wide scale as soon as it is deprived of the semi-Central banking operations it is conducting to-day. It has become an open secret now that it is casting covetous eyes on the field of foreign exchange and the present-day experience would enable it to easily tack on general foreign exchange business as soon as the C. R. Bank is started.[1]

Fourthly, the absence of a stable domestic exchange banking machinery is deplorable. The Bank of England was never controlling the exchange operations even in times of this dire economic emergency. The heads of the foreign exchange departments of the Big Five are performing this duty and beyond the appeal to patriotism of the British public not to depreciate

[1] See Mr. Macdonald's Evidence referred to in Mr. Manu Subedar's Minority report -C.B. Enquiry Committee Report, p. 284.

the pound sterling no interference with the day-to-day administration of the exchange banking machinery has been brought about.

Fifthly, the necessity of publishing with utmost possible expedition the figures of the sale of sterling and the details of the adequate machinery which has enabled the Indian Government to secure the support of His Majesty's Government for securing sterling resources has to be realised. There is indeed one danger which the publicity of this arrangement might bring about. The depletion of the sterling credit resources will accentuate the difficulties but as psychological or speculative factors are removed by exchange control it will provide a natural limit to their influence.

Sixthly, the additional bounty which depreciated sterling would confer on British exports would be of little avail so far as the Indian market is concerned. The manner in which it has been secured has alienated the sympathies of all well-meaning citizens. The continuance of strained feelings arising out of domestic political situation would be a grave handicap. The fixed wage-earning class and the salaried people who generally consume the British manufactured goods are already feeling the pinch as a result of the depreciation of the internal value of the rupee. They would fain be able to increase their demand for either the imported British goods or those of other gold standard countries. The future budgetary position of the Government of India would become rather grave in spite of present-day balancing measures. This would entail further taxation which would restrict the ability of the Indian consumers to purchase foreign goods.

Seventhly, the additional bounty which depreciated rupee gives to the Indian exporters in the matter of transactions with gold standard countries has been grossly exaggerated. Because 76 per cent. of our trade is with gold standard countries this temporary stimulus would be secured. India exports mostly the raw materials of commerce and agricultural staples. These have

been unfortunately overproduced in most countries of the world. Indian wheat can find no world market. Rice can find no Eastern markets till an export credits scheme or some other device will enable China and the Eastern markets to demand it. Indian cotton will find it difficult to secure a market in face of the huge output of the U.S.A. cotton, part of which was bartered for so much coffee of Brazil. So an immediate improvement of export trade except in the case of those goods where India has a *quasi*-monopolistic control cannot be expected. Taking jute which can be reckoned under this category the demand for it would be slack till the present overstocking of the foreign markets disappears. An all-round stimulus to external trade can hardly be expected when the foreign consumers lack the effective demand for our goods. Internal commodity prices have risen already as a result of the depreciation of the rupee but permanent easier export trade conditions cannot ensue out of this step. A depreciated rupee means "the real values of salaries, wages, interest payments and debts will all be reduced." It is not national but class prosperity that is ensuing out of this step. There can be no real national wealth arising out of it.

Nextly the artificial support of the sterling rupee at the high level of 18*d*. is to give scope to transfer of the sterling investments made in the country without any possible loss which might arise were sterling to fall to a lower figure. It is the holders of sterling that ought to have borne the exchange loss. Equity demands that the rich investor should bear all risks attendant on the transfer of repaid capital and interest but it is being thrust on the poorly equipped borrowers. India's financial independence would mean no longer preferential conditions to external investors. But mere safety is not however endangered thereby.

Ninthly, the flight of gold and capital from the country would take place to countries where political, social and credit conditions are more secure and free from attendant risks of currency depreciation and political uncertainty. A continued

retrogression of the rupee would mean a further stimulus for the flight of capital. The export of gold is taking place mainly in order to take advantage of the insistent demand in European and English markets. So long as the price of gold is below dollar parity this movement will continue. An embargo on gold and the acquisition of gold at the import point of sterling-rupee exchange, *viz.*, 1*s.*-6$\frac{3}{16}$-*d.* by the expanding of currency would kill two birds at one shot. The gold resources would expand and internal prices would have the needed fillip. But the maintenance of high exchange value for the rupee would become impossible under such conditions.

Again the British Government's financial support to enable it to discharge the India Government's ratio obligations stand unrescinded. But in view of its own inability to secure substantial credits from abroad the promise of a weak borrower is rarely a convincing and reassuring one. But these long-term credits could at the same time be arranged by a financial mission sent to New York and the linking of the rupee to gold at the present-day ratio of 1*s.*-6*d.* gold, would mean the continuance of the *status quo*. The possibility of paying sterling obligations indirectly through the dollar credits would add to the embarrassment of the sterling situation. Further depreciation of sterling would ensue as a result of India's efforts to pay sterling indebtedness through the gold markets.

Again this episode of linking the rupee to the sterling clearly shows that the stability of the rupee sterling exchange is the only dominant consideration of the Government of India. It does not appear as a custodian of the general public interests when it undertakes to supply the machinery which would enable the merchants or remitters to cover their risks. The Exchange Banks are the instruments whose intimate touch with trade will enable them to shoulder this risk.

The next point of criticism against the new Ordinance is the promise to give gold also or sterling provided the amount demanded is through the scheduled bank for the minimum

amount and satisfies the regulatory authority that it is a *bona-fide* demand for exportation purposes in lieu of discharge of past contractual obligations or for definite domestic purpose requirements of the remitters. It is one-sided stability that is now being enforced as a result of the Ordinance. It is the reverse draft at 1*s.* 5¾*d.* and 3/4*d* that is available. Domestic currency is not being released even at 1*s.* 6*d.* and 3/16 sterling ratio. The refusal to take gold and release currency at this import point means that the par points are not fully operative.[1]

*Can we internationalise the Gold Standard?*

If the energy of Great Britain were to fructify in the formation of an all-World Conference for stabilising the position of gold and bring about a satisfactory adjustment of gold holdings good cometh out of evil. It must be a public international conference at which the respective claims of Central Banks to increase the gold reserve would be examined by a body of experts. But we must not commit the mistake of going to the unrestricted gold standard suddenly or too soon nor enforce an overvalued rupee and an onerous exchange ratio. Unless and until the world economic crisis were to be effectively tackled there would be no possibility in attaining stable trade and exchange conditions. Resort to the post-war gold standard would only mean the prospects of early suspension. Without internal monetary use of gold a scientific gold standard involving intelligent management can be made to work.

*What of the Immediate Future?*

If the above findings clearly indicate that a restoration of the international gold standard can take place in the remote future alone what has India to do in the meantime. Till the expiry of the Ordinance period the rupee stands linked to the rupee. But at the end of this period the rupee should be declared an independent currency neither linked to sterling or the gold whose

[1] Since these lines were written the Government have been purchasing sterling at 1*s.* 6*d.* and 3/16*d.* Hence a *de facts* stability of the Rupee is to be had at present.

future is on the laps of gods alone. Before discussing the ratio at which it ought to be linked if the international gold standard were to be adopted the consequences of the adoption of an independent rupee standard have to be understood. An independent rupee carefully regulated would not cause any embarrassment to the gold reserves of the country. The Finance Member's argument that "if the Rupee was not linked to sterling the difficulties of India Government to raise money abroad would be almost insuperable" needs refutation. He is repeating afresh the old argument of the British capitalists who wanted steady sterling-rupee exchange in the days of the past nineties. The ability to raise credits abroad depends upon the financial ability of the Government. A financially unstable Government like Australia's was refused a loan either in America or England though it was on the gold standard. If the Government of India were to follow the proverbial rake's progress it is not external credits alone that would be denied but even the more thoughtful of the domestic creditors would think twice in granting the needed resources. Granted that America does not play fairly the game of a creditor country[1] an appeal to the newly started Bank of International Settlements will have to be made through the C. R. Bank.

Under an independent rupee standard India will not find it difficult to raise the necessary sterling resources to pay the annual 32 mil. liability and pay off any other maturing sterling loan obligations of the Government. It is almost a truism to assert that a country should have command over other countries; currencies with which it trades. Although India has trading relations with most of the important countries of the world she needs command over three major currencies in order to discharge her obligations. Sterling, the guilder and the yen are the important currencies needed by this country. The sterling requirements of India predominate over other currency requirements. It is

[1] See Dr. O. W. Sprague's paper, "The working of the Gold Standard."

the realisation of this fact that makes the people say that sterling requirements ought to be secured at a fixed and stable ratio in terms of the rupee. A stable sterling value of the rupee does not mean that sterling values of other countries, currencies can be stabilised. The trade with gold standard countries would be disturbed on account of the fluctuating value of the sterling in these currencies.

### *Unstable Sterling.*

Granted that linking with sterling in normal times when sterling is equivalent to gold is an advantage, it does not follow that the rupee ought to be linked to inconvertible sterling. Even a rat deserts a sinking ship almost instinctively. If it were mere disassociation with gold that is the main weakness of sterling there is nothing inherently defective in such a position. But there is no definite assurance that the sterling will not follow the path of the franc of 1921-1928 or that of the mark of 1921-1925. Were the Labour Government to be returned to power and were they to persist in the policy of adding outlays of unproductive character in spite of deficit budgets and threaten to carry out class legislation, there would be no knowing where the pound sterling would be standing. Its future is uncertain as there is impairment of confidence as a result of the absence of economy in Britain's national expenditure.[1] An inconvertible currency like the paper pound sterling can be easily subjected to the influence of the petty national politicians. It is an elementary economic truth which says that an inflated currency would be entirely valueless and afraid of further taxation measures the political party in power might bring about perpetual interference with domestic currency values. Unless and until this assurance

[1] See Sir George May Committee report. This famous Economy Report explains the National Crisis in England. It points out the urgent necessity of balancing the budget and making it of smaller dimension than before. The central wealth fund of the Nation must increase before national solvency will become an accomplished fact.

is also given that no inflationary influence will be exerted on the paper pound the Government of India ought not to have agreed to link the rupee with the fluctuating sterling.

### *India not a mere Debtor Country but a Debtor-Creditor country.*

Too much capital is being made by the advocates of exchange stabilisation policy of the fact that India is a debtor country. Correctly speaking India at present is on the debtor-creditor basis. The Memorandum on the Balances of Payments points out that no net claims are being built by India on the other countries of the world. If it were a real creditor country the net claims it builds on other countries would be increasing. When as a whole we find ourselves in a transition stage as it were, this insistence that sterling and sterling alone will help us is meaningless.

We can maintain an economical and efficient internal currency which is at the same time suited to the requirements of the people. Its external value would depend not only on its internal value but in times of international instability in foreign currencies the changing value of foreign currencies would have its own repurcussion on the value of the domestic currency. The domestic banking system should be able to understand the influences and facilitate the matter of transition from the debtor to the creditor status.

### *The Immediate Issue.*

India's main trouble as in the case of most other countries lies in the greater fall of agricultural prices than that of the manufactured commodities used by it. This problem can be

attacked in two ways. Either the prices of manufactured commodities can be pushed down or the prices of agricultural staples have to be raised. As periods of slowly rising prices secure economic relief to almost all sections of society it is this ideal that is being advocated as a desirable remedy in all countries. A modest watering and not an inflationary issue of currency would be required to bring about such a rise in commodity prices.

The recent very considerable developments of the heavy general tariff that are being brought about would not fail to produce a rise in the normal rate of exchange. The currency authorities should pay heed to these changes in the tariff while fixing the rate of exchange in the near future.

It is an immediate rise in prices that is needed rather th the securing of the ideal exchange rate of pre-war times witho *any* rise in prices. A modest rise in prices and a stabilisati of the internal level of prices at that point is the crying need the hour. While allowing exchanges to go hang, the attenti of the Government can be concentrated on the stability of th internal prices so long as international prices tend to b unstable. This policy ought to be our aim as soon as the present Ordinance expires. It is the level of prices that matters and not exchange rates. Linked neither to gold nor sterling the rupee can be made to possess a stable internal value as it did during 1919-1921 period so that the entirebusiness interests of the country stand to gain out of this step. This policy of internal price stability would help us in the contingency of the sterling becoming stable for it will secure a stable ratio for the rupee in terms of sterling.

### *Is America redistributing Gold ?*

The period of redistribution of American gold stock which was impeded by the Stock market boom of 1927-29 seems to have commenced afresh. American gold is being shipped to

France, Switzerland and Holland. The shortage of gold in other countries can be directly attacked and the economic allegiance of these countries to the gold bullion standard can be secured thereby. India should be represented at the World Economic Conference which would discuss the future of the international gold bullion standard. On the solemn and distinct promise of not using the gold stock for gold currency we should secure American or French gold and help the broadening of the international gold bullion standard. But nothing would be more important than to suppress the inborn predilections of the people for imports of precious metals and for unproductive hoarding in the jewellery form.

If America and France were to refuse to part with their gold hocks the idea of the Bank of International Settlements managing the gold reserves of the world in such a way as to maintain reasonable stability in the international price level may and should be exploited.

But if this suggestion is not feasible there would be the triumph of the anti-metallist ideal, *i.e.*, managed currency with the special object of maximising stability of prices and exchanges at a minimum social cost. India by pursuing the domestic policy of internal price stabilisation during these days can blaze the trail of general monetary policy and reconstruction.

### *A Possible Contingency.*

As soon as sterling rises to its gold parity, for every one in England who has studied the Macmillan Report is convinced of the futility of devaluating sterling as a remedy to the present crisis, attempts will be made to stabilise the rupee in terms of sterling which has reached parity with gold. The present-day sterling exchange standard ushered in by the Ordinance would give way for the *de jure* gold bullion standard which however would be worked in the manner in which a *de facto* gold exchange standard would be working. The legal fiction of gold

standard would again be spun but in administrative practice it would tend to degenerate to that of a gold exchange standard. Unless and until it is a form of the improved gold exchange standard almost coming up to the "ideal gold exchange standard" of the economist's conception, the Indian public should emphatically protest against its adoption. It should be the duty of the Currency League to educate the public by issuing small leaflets on the different standards—their merits and demerits and their suitability to this country. The working of the improved Gold Exchange standard would bring about the expanding of the currency of the gold exchange receiving country and tend to contract the currency of the other country.[1] But as the Hilton-Young Commission has wisely stated the Indian public cannot find the gold exchange standard mechanism easy to understand and simple to operate.[2] It does not secure the internal convertibility of the token currency into metallic gold. Any future currency system for this country must give this right and must be worked on this definite understanding. The real gold bullion standard gives this right and, as Dr. L. J. A. Trip admits, the gold bullion standard system has met no criticism.[3]

*How can India achieve the Real Gold Bullion Standard System?*

This can be done by starting the Central Reserve Bank. This C. R. Bank should be provided with the necessary foreign exchange assets in sterling, guilders and yen and a gold reserve to cover its notes and sight liabilities. With the return of more settled conditions in the international money markets than are existing at present the exchange should be stabilised at round

[1] See the paper entitled "The Reform of the Gold Exchange Standard." Select Documents of the Gold Delegation Committee of the L. of N.

[2] See Hilton-Young Commission Report, pp. 24-32.

[3] See Dr. L. J. A. Trip, Paper entitled "The functioning of the Gold Standard."

about the normal level at which it stands at the inauguration of the C. R. Bank and the collection of the proceeds of the external loan. As a low exchange would have an adverse effect on our external debt the monetary experts should be careful in fixing the exchange value of the rupee. But it ought to be done on the basis of rate discovered to be normal as a result of allowing it to move freely up and down for some considerable length of time.

*A New Monetary Phase.*

The Indian monetary system would then be entering another phase of its career. Confidence in the future of India would largely depend on the belief both in India and outside in the stability and efficiency of the monetary system. Many people are not aware that the Indian Government cannot arrange any external loan without the sanction of the British Parliament. Genuine efforts should be made to induce the British Parliament to grant us this power. With an assured budgetary equilibrium and an unproductive debt which is very small there is no reason why American financiers would fight shy of financing us. If the loan proceeds were not to be locked up in barren gold currency units there can be no economic reason for the refusal.

Attempts should be made to garner more gold resources for an efficient working of the gold bullion standard by the C. R. Banking machinery which needs at least 80 to 100 ms. worth of gold.

Armed with the necessary resources the C. R. Bank can, by the pursuit of the well-known foreign exchange methods secure the stability of the external value of the domestic currency. The sales and purchases of both the domestic currency and foreign currency, the perfection of the forward exchange market and the varying of the buying price of gold would enable it to steady and regulate the external or the exchange value of the

rupee. There would be no failure on its part to stabilise the normal rate of exchange which ultimately depends on the relative price-levels of the countries.

*Conclusion.*

The logical outcome of above trend of reasoning would compel one to admit that stabilisation of exchange at any level of sterling exchange or gold exchange would be premature when there is no prospect of relative stability in international prices. Relative instability of international prices, *viz.*, rising prices in agricultural countries and falling prices in the gold standard countries would mark the course of our economic events. If a conjoint effort is made to secure rising world prices and avoid all rapid fluctuations altogether the time would arrive when we can no longer allow exchange to take its own course. But the very adoption of the international gold bullion standard form by this country will give the substantial measure of relative stability of prices and exchanges and a close correspondence of local currency policy with that of the rest of the world. International prices, internal prices, and exchange rates will all be under control. India would have to wait for this day of internationalising of the gold bullion standard pursuing during the inter-regnum a policy of masterly inactivity in the direction of securing practical stability of exchange. Let exchanges be used as the shock-absorber. Let us not ignore the possibility of raising the international price-level by the united effort of all countries. Let us consummate our best energies in bringing about a modest rise in the present-day world prices.

## Appendix 1.

The advantages of linking the rupee to inconvertible sterling at 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio are as follows:—

1. There would be an exchange bounty on Indian exports to other gold standard countries. As India's trade is more with gold standard countries than England there is a temporary stimulus at least as a result of this exchange bounty on Indian exports to these countries.

2. The Government of India will not lose anything in the payment of sterling obligations. If a fall in the rupee sterling exchange value would take place it would increase the amount of rupees to be laid aside to pay the sterling obligations. Without stable sterling rupee exchange the Indian budget would become a gamble in exchange.

3. Without linking to sterling the gold value of the rupee would fall to a very great extent.

4. The Indian market is secured to British exporters as against the competition of manufactures of the gold standard countries. This tantamounts to giving Imperial Preference by back-door methods.

5. Element of uncertainty in the trading relations with England which amounts to twenty-five per cent. of our total trade would be removed. The remitters also stand to gain by stable rupee sterling exchange at 1*s.* 6*d.*

6. The rupee will depreciate, *i.e.*, the internal value of the rupee falls, *viz.*, prices of commodities will be rising.

7. The frantic attempts on the part of the Government to support 1*s.* 6*d.* gold value for the rupee would cease.

The disadvantages have to be considered—

1. Indian import trade with gold standard countries becomes impeded. As goods pay for goods the Indian exports will become ultimately restricted.

2. The changing of the currency standard is a violent breach of national faith. The gold standard countries are justified in considering this step as the betrayal of national trust.

3. This gives an excellent opportunity to secure long-term credits and pay off sterling obligations out of the funds for sterling has become depreciated in terms of gold. This attempt to pay off sterling debts as the result of concerted action would tend to depreciate sterling further. The real sacrifice to pay external debts would still have to be made by this country.

4. There would be the flight of capital for there is lack of confidence in the rupee and the Indian monetary system.

5. It is a sad mistake to maintain the standard of value with the incidental and varying circumstances of exchange.

6. Unless an embargo on gold is placed India would be drained of all its gold stocks.

7. It places India at the mercy of currency and credit changes in England. This monetary subordination to the foreign centre turns out to be misplaced reliance in the long run as soon as sterling depreciates further and further.

Although the advantages of linking the rupee to sterling have been widely discussed much emphasis has not been laid on the consequences resulting out of linking the rupee to gold.

1. Trade with gold standard countries would not become handicapped if the rupee's gold value does not become altered. No uncertainties in trade matters with these gold standard countries.

2. The rupee might not depreciate in terms of gold if left to itself. It is inability to discharge gold obligations that might bring about this contingency. But there is not much need for great credit amounts to pay off the gold obligations.

3. Unless a solid link to gold metal is established the Indian public will have no faith in the currency standard by whatever name it goes in academic discussions. There is nothing so dangerous as lack of confidence in the currency standard. The flight from the rupee would take place when the people think that the rupee in doomed.

4. If the gold rupee were to rise in terms of sterling there would be exchange gain. Sterling obligations can be paid with lesser number of gold rupees.

5. Remitters also stand to gain if the gold rupee were to appreciate in terms of sterling.

6. When sterling rises to its gold parity the rupee-sterling exchange can be stabilised once again.

7. Stable exchange between England and India does not mean stable international commerce for India with the other countries of the world.

The disadvantages of linking with gold would be as follows:

1. Inability to discharge gold obligations will tend to depreciate the gold value of the rupee.

2. If there were to be no immediate depreciation of the rupee the exchange bounty to Indian exporters will disappear.

3. Prices of commodities would not have arisen if the *status quo* had been maintained by linking the rupee to gold at the present ratio of 1*s*. 6*d*. gold.

4. If 1*s*. 6*d*. gold value for the rupee could not be maintained during 1929-30 it means that the rupee's real gold value is high and has to be depreciated.

5. There would be the draining away of the last ounce of gold from India if it were to bolster up an onerous ratio of 1*s*. 6*d*. gold for the rupee.

6. The Imperial Preference to the British exporters will still exist in this case for the sterling stands depreciated in terms of gold. Exchange dumping from England would still exist.

7. India would have no credit if the Rupee is not linked to sterling.

If exchange were allowed to go adrift, *i.e.*, if the rupee is neither linked to gold nor sterling there would be the possible advantages and disadvantages arising out of this step.

Advantages would be as follows:—

1. The dangers of tying ourselves to inconvertible sterling currency would be removed. It would fall or rise to the normal level and get steadied according to the relative price-levels of the trading countries.

2. Exporters and importers would attempt to shift the risk of fluctuag exchange levels to exchange dealers who will make a genuine attempt balance the gains and losses. Forward contracts with Exchange Banks a eliminate these risks.

3. Stability of exchange is an international task and when so many ntries are off the gold standard an era of unstable currencies and a derness of exchange rates would ensue. Our Exchange stability would come impossible under such economic conditions.

4. There might be no frittering away of resources. What might be t in maintaining the gold value for the rupee might be compensated out of the gain arising in the direction of maintaining the rupee sterling exchange.

5. Trade can flourish even in days of exchange instability as it did in 1872-1892 and 1921-1925.

6. It would be free from the charge of official manipulation of internal prices for the maintenance of an impossible ratio of exchange.

7. A policy of relatively stable internal prices giving uniform purchasing power for all classes can be pursued and exchange allowed to follow its own course.

The disadvantages are as follows:—

1. Currency experts, realising the tendency of gold output to be smaller than world's monetary requirements have been foreshadowing a fall in prices. Under this contingency the maintenance of 1*s*. 6*d*. gold value

for the rupee would be impossible. Sir Basil Blackett's gamble in rising prices proved a failure. Devaluation is inevitable. This policy of exchange instability arising under this contingency would add to the troublous situation.

2. Present business disturbance and economic depression would be heightened by exchange instability.

3. It would be enlightened selfishness and not mere philanthropy even towards England if we fail to accept the verdict of the Secretary of State in linking the rupee to sterling.

4. It will not check the flight of capital but nothing can check this tendency for capital like water tends to find its own level.

5. There is a sterling loan maturing in January 1932. It would be impossible to pay this without the necessary external credit or supply of gold credits.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

# ABEL BERGAIGNE AND HIS INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDAS[1]

In the field of Vedic Interpretation the names of Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Bergaigne, Pischel-Geldner and Oldenberg stand out prominent. Of these, the name of Bergaigne is associated with definite conquests in the field of Vedic studies. The best part of his work is contained in the three volumes of his *La Religion Vedique d'après les hymnes de Ṛgveda* which appeared between 1876 and 1883. In his interpretation of the hymns he depended solely on the Ṛgveda, which he put to a thorough examination. His work contains about 16,000 quotations most of which are from the hymns of the Ṛgveda. In determining the meaning of a word he has taken to the comparison of analogous formulae.

According to Bergaigne himself, his work was destined to be an *Index Rerum* or an Index of the ideas contained in the Ṛgveda, in which the words would be grouped together with analogous formulae bearing on those words. These formulae were to be arranged according to the mythological categories to which they belonged. But the book finally became more than that—a complete compendium in which all the materials were combined in order to give a new interpretation of the religion of the Vedas and on this interpretation his new verbal exposition was based. The principle underlying his studies was that the mythology and the cult of the Vedas was so much interdependent that one could not be explained without the help of the other. In the opinion of Bergaigne, the Vedic seers were still conscious of this interdependence.

His study of the Vedic rites and the formulae in which these rites are described shows that the Vedic sacrifice was an

[1] The paper was read before the Philological Society, Calcutta University, on the 22nd August 1931. It is mainly based on the admirable little book of Prof. L. Renous *Les maîtres de la Philologie Vedique* (Paris, 1928) and the 1st and the 3rd volumes of Bergaigne's *Religion Vedique*.

imitation of some celestial phenomena. These celestial phenomena can be reduced to two groups : the *solar phenomena* which accompany the rise of the sun and the *meteorological phenomena* which accompany the rain-fall after a long period of drought. In each of these groups the Vedic mythology distinguishes the male and female elements. In the *solar phenomena* the male element is the sun and the female element the dawn, and in the *meteorological phenomena* the male element is the lightning (*agni*) and the femal, the clouds (*nabhas*). As plurality is generally connected with the feminine sex, it may be associated with the dawn and the cloud.

These elements may have diverse representations which constitute the mythological *anthropomorphism* and *zoomorphism*. The figures of animals most frequently used are, for the male, —bird, horse (either winged or not) calves and bull and, for the female,—mare and cow. Between the two sexes, either in their human or animal forms, such mythical relations as imagined between the elements themselves are established. The concomitance, or anteriority and posteriority of phenomena finds expression either in the sexual union or collateral parentage, in the paternity and maternity or in the filiation of mythological beings. These relations may be confounded or reversed according to the points of view adopted. Hence we are told of the incest of brother and sister or of father and daughter and we also hear of such paradoxes as " The daughter has given birth to the father " or " the son has produced his mothers " which may be explained by supposing that the sun has sometimes been conceived as the child and sometimes as the father of the dawn and the celestial waters sometimes as mothers and sometimes as the daughters of lightning.

Now let us see how these phenomena are represented on earth. In the Vedic cult there are two principal ceremonies— the *preparation of the offering* and *its sacrifice to the fire.* In the second operation the male element is the *Agni* and female element is the offering (butter, milk or *Soma*). The *Agni* and

the offering hence are often represented under the same forms as those of the male and female elements of the celestial phenomena and the supposed relations of the latter are extended to the former. In the preparation of the offering also, the rites betray a conscious imitation of the celestial phenomena. Here *Soma* is the male element and its female element is the water for moistening the plant from which it is pressed out and flows. Milk also is the female element here, as it is mixed with *Soma* for fermentation. Though *Soma* is female in opposition to *Agni* it is here the male—it is the liquid Agni, with the colour of gold which warms up and burns the heart. This operation of the pressing of *Soma* is described in formulae which are equally applicable to the mythic description of the rains or the rise of the sun.

Another female which accompanies the *Agni* and the *Soma* is the prayer or prayers—the bellowing cows which either call their calves or reply to them. These females have their celestial prototypes in the noises of the thunder—supposed to be the bellows of the raining cow or the cows.

Thus the rites on the earth (*pṛthivī*) are the real reproductions of the acts that are supposed to be accomplished in the two other worlds, the atmosphere and the heavens (*svar* and *antarikṣa*). The elements of the cult are not however pure symbols of the elements of the celestial phenomena but are identical with them by nature and have their origin in the other two worlds. The Vedic seers thought that the celestial, atmospheric and the terrestrial fires (the last kindled by the sacrificer), were identical. The celestial and terrestrial waters were also the same. The Vedic seers, by reproducing the natural process by corresponding modes of representations, believed they were able to assure the stability of these processes and by a sort of *envoûtement* (sympathetic magic) influence the march of celestial phenomena.

According to Bergaigne, the natural phenomena are not only the model of the terrestrial sacrifice, they themselves are real sacrifices performed by the deified ancestors of the *ṛṣis*—the *pitṛs*. But what then is the rôle of the Gods? The male and the

female elements in the three worlds are the gods. But the male elements only may be complete gods. Hence the universal male element, *Agni* or *Soma*, is the god who may have three forms in the three worlds, of the sacrificial fire on earth, the lightning in the atmosphere and the sun in the heavens.

But one might ask how far such a method is applicable in the case of a god like Indra, who has been strongly individualised. Such gods cannot be easily identified either with the celestial elements or with the elements of the ritual. Their activity has no direct relation with the cult. But Bergaigne, by a thorough analysis of the character of Indra and other warring gods, comes to the conclusion that they are all the doublets of the universal element *Agni-Soma* and that this identity was known to the *Ṛṣis*. Indra, however, does not play the same rôle as that of *Agni* in the cult. If Agni is both the element and the producer of the element, Indra is only an intermediary between the sacrificer and the divinity. This is probably a new and later aspect of the cult, according to which the sacrifice did not act directly but through the intermediary of a divinity. The original traits of Indra are however discernible. Thus in the legend of Indra, Etaśa who appears sometimes as the *protégé* of Indra and sometimes as the horse of the solar wheel is with Bergaigne the fire or the sacred drink, as long as he is a man and a doublet of *Soma* as long as he is a horse, because the horse is conceived as a symbol of *Soma*. When the poet says that Indra breaks the neck of the demon Namuci with the arm of foam, Bergaigne takes it to be the cup in which Indra churns the milk which comes out of it in the form of foam and this cup and the milk are the mythical transpositions of the heavens and the waters.

Take the example of Rudra, one of the sovereign gods. Bergaigne first defines the proper functions of Rudra —the celestial archer and the curer of the gods. His proper rôle in the cult is to inspire terror in the supplicants. But what is Rudra in his origin? He is the father of the

*Maruts* and these *Maruts* are for Bergaigne the sacrificers and the children of the heavens. So in one of his aspects he sacrifices and symbolises the heavens. But he has another aspect where he is quite distinct from the heavens, because the female of the heavens is the earth, but the female of Rudra—*Pṛśṇi* is not the earth. On the other hand the *Maruts* are also called the children of Vāyu; then should Rudra be the wind? No, because it occurs only in an isolated formula, but his real nature should be sought for in that direction. Rudra is also connected with Parjanya, the god of rains. Thus Rudra may be the heavens, the wind or the clouds. It seems to be complete naturalism. But according to Bergaigne, these notions, which are the allegories of the celestial father, have bearing on the celestial male, *Agni*, because Rudra has the same epithets as Agni—this is also confirmed inversely as *Agni* sometimes bears the name of Rudra. But how is he the archer and the curer? He is the archer because he is represented as sitting on the *garta* —which is one of the names of the cup of *Soma* and hence he is connected with Kṛśānu, the archer who wounded the eagle, that stole *Soma*. So Rudra is the guardian archer of *Soma*. He is the curer, as *Soma* is the best remedy, the drink of immortality.

Bergaigne arrives at this system by his study of the Vedic hymns. It was the poverty in the interpretation of the Vedas and the way in which his predecessors were going on multiplying the meaning of a Vedic word that led him to this attempt at finding out a consistent verbal interpretation. Thus, for establishing a consistent verbal interpretation, he does not hesitate in attributing complexity to the ideas. For him the Vedic *Ṛṣis* are not primitive poets who sing inspired by the beauty of the nature, but are priests, always conscious of the intimate relation of the cult and the celestial phenomena, having not a simple but a complicated (but still logical) way of expressing that relation. But it should be remembered that it is complicated only to us as we are so far away from the age when this symbolic expression was clear. It

was quite in conformity to a logical system of correspondence and symbols according to pre-established laws.

Such a method exercised great influence in the domain of philology. From this time onwards the interpretation took a more definite aspect because the part of sacerdotal formalism in the hymns was better understood. Bergaigne's principle was a very well-defined one, unlike that of his predecessors. He was restituting simplicity to the Vedic vocabulary, for which he undertook a tenacious philological work as can be discovered from his book on a close study. He succeeded in modifying the vocabulary of Roth on numerous points and made the shades of words more precise by a penetrating comparison of passages. When he did not succeed in arriving at an absolute unification, he collected the largest number of examples around a central idea. He abstained almost completely from a correction of the text.

There is no doubt that such views on the Vedas greatly facilitated the semantic convergence. Not that he has forced the literal value for making it suitable to his theories. But whenever his theories are at work, he simplifies the vocabulary so well that it is impossible not to accept him. Similarly, it becomes impossible to get rid of his religious interpretation.

Take the word *arka*. The language of the hymns possesses a root *arc* which means both to "shine" and "to sing." The meaning of 'shining' is confirmed by the use of its derivatives *arci*, *arcis*, "ray" and some passages of the RV. in which Bergaigne admits this meaning, *arcati*. But for the substantive *arka*, he thought that the meaning of "hymn" was to be adopted everywhere as in the majority of cases this meaning was suggested by the text. Pischel attributes the meaning of "sun" and Neisser "light" to the word. Though it is difficult to choose between these two meanings, the choice was easy and prompt with Bergaigne. Thus in the following cases Bergaigne's point of view gains strength.

(*i*) *arkaṁ bibharṣi bāhvoḥ | vajraṁ śiśāna oǰasā*. The idea of connecting it with *vajram bibharti haste* which is attributed to Indra at once occurs, but this *rapprochement* is not conclusive. It may be admitted that the poet wanted to mean "thou holdest the prayer in thy hands", that is to say, "it is the very prayer that thou holdest in thy hands when thou aimest thy thunderbolt with force." But with Bergaigne the *rapprochement* between *arka* and *vajra* is not at all important, as the second word gives an orientation towards a group of different representations. In the system of Bergaigne *arka* is 'prayer'; in the mythic correspondences it is the female element equivalent to thunder. It is not proper to say that *arka* meant 'thunder' but the Vedic seers used his word with the intention of suggesting the idea of 'thunder' though it rendered exclusively the sense of prayer.

(*ii*) III. 26, 28: *tribhiḥ pavitrair apupod dhy arkam*: one is generally tempted to interpret it "(the priest) has purified the light (=*Soma i.e.*, bright *Soma*) by three strainers." But on the other hand the subject of *punātī* in the RV. is sometimes *brahma* and *vacam*. Bergaigne therefore deduces that the composition of the poem was often compared with the clarification of a liquid and that "clarifying the hymn" for the Vedic seers meant the "clarification of the liquid", which was the mythic symbol of the hymn.

(*iii*) VI. 4. 6: *ā sūryo na bhanumadbhir arkair agne tatantha roddsī vi bhāsā*: here the accumulation of analogous terms seems to impose the translation "O Agni, like the Sun, by thy bright rays, thou hast spread thy light on the worlds." The use of the perfect suggests that here the celestial *Agni* is referred to, and not the Agni which is the direct object of the prayer. But Bergaigne, faithful to his system, translates—"by our brilliant hymns." As the idea of brightness is often combined with that of the hymn, it is the normal substitute of the notion of light.

Let us take a case where the mythological interpretation is not very transparent, the word *ūrvá* to which Bergaigne

attributes the meaning of 'stable' everywhere. It may be questioned if that meaning can be preserved in—"*sám anyā yanty upa yanty anyāḥ samānam ūrvaṁ nadyaḥ pṛṇanti* (II, 35, 3)—"amongst the rivers, some meet together, the others descend filling up the common *ūrva*." The hymn is addressed to Apām Napāt, *i.e.*, *Agni* under the form of the god of waters. It is tempting to render the word as "sea" and connect it with the word *ūrmi*, the vocative *ūrva* addressed to *Agni* of the sea in the Taittiriya saṁhita and *aurva*—of the classical skt., meaning "sub-oceanic fire." Some of the passages of the Vedas favour this interpretation. We have also the right of interpreting it as Bergaigne does as "the rivers fill the stable" if we consider that the stable is the substitute of the cloud imprisoning the cows, which are themselves the substitutes of rivers.

Such is the method of Bergaigne by which he penetrates into the suppleness of words so admirably. For illustrating his method let us see how he interprets a complete ṛk.—I.123.1.

पृथू रथो दक्षिणाया अयोज्यैनं देवासो अमृतासो अस्थुः ।
कृष्णादुदस्थादर्याऽविह्वायाश्चिकित्सन्ती मानुषाय क्षयाय ॥

Bergaigne translates this hymn addressed to Uṣas as—"Le large char de la Dakṣiṇā a été attelé ; sur ce char sont montés les dieux immortels. La (déesse) alerte est sortie du séjour du noir avare frayant la voie à la race humaine."

Let us see how Bergaigne understands the word *Dakṣiṇā* which was translated by Grassmann as "the rich dawn" and by Ludwig as "the amiable," though in a note the latter says that it may mean "the sacrificial fee" and that in that case 'the chariot' would mean the sacrifice. In support of his suggestion Ludwig refers to the *Ait. Brah.* where it is said : "the sacrifice is the chariot of the Gods." But Bergaigne has no need of the *Ait. Brah.* He refers to the RV. itself— I. 123.5 *jayema taṁ dakṣiṇayā rathena,* "May we be able to conquer him with Dakṣiṇā as our chariot." I. 125.5 *iyaṁ dakṣiṇā*

*pinvate sadā* ; X.107.4 *te dakṣiṇām duhate saptamātram*. In the last case Grassmann translates the word by "milch cow."

It is true that the ordinary fee for the sacrifice was a "cow" but this little inexactitude in bringing out the shade of meaning leads to greater error in the interpretation of IX.71.1. *a dakṣiṇām śrīyate śuṣmyā* where *dakṣiṇā* is "milk" for Grassmann though still "cow" for Ludwig. In this particular case *ā dakṣiṇā* may very well be taken together to mean adverbially "to the right." Again Grassmann translates *dakṣiṇāvat* (III. 39.6 ; VI. 29.3), *lit.* "giving the *dakṣiṇā*," applied to Indra as "fort." Ludwig translates it as "gabenreich" (III. 39.6) and "reich an opfergaben" (VI.29.3). Then again in III. 58.1 *dhenuḥ pratnasya kāmyam duhānāntaḥ putraścarati dakṣiṇāyāḥ*, and VI. 64.1. *kṛṇoti dakṣiṇā maghonī* as well as in the present hymn *dakṣiṇā* is for them "dawn."

The use of *dakṣiṇā* to mean "liberality" implies a comparison between the reward accorded by the gods to the sacrificer and the fee given to the priest. This is explicit in I. 168·7, **भद्रा वो रातिः मृणतो न दक्षिणा पृथुज्रयी असूर्येव जज्ञन्ती**, where the Maruts are the donors and in I. 169. 4, **त्वं तू न इन्द्र तं रयिं दा ओजिष्ठया दक्षिणयेव रातिम्**, where *Indra* is the donor. In its origin *dakṣiṇā* is the gift of the God and this has served as the prototype of that of the sacrifice. It is true that *dakṣinā* which is etymologically a feminine adjective wants a substitute which is understood and which should be the 'cow.' But that is no reason why the word should be taken to mean 'cow.' Then again *dakṣiṇā* meaning 'right' has not the latter sense. *Ait.Br.*, in fact, mentions a rite which consists in placing the cow, destined to be the sacrificial fee for the priest, on the right side of the sacrificial altar. Indra in III. 39.6, VI. 29.3, IX. 98.10 is *dakṣiṇāvat* which Roth and Grassmann translate as 'good, useful.' But it is clear from III. 53.6, **यत्रा रथस्य बृहतो निधानं विमोचनं वाजिनो दक्षिणावत्**, that *Indra* holds the gift in the right hand and it is by the right hand that he gives. So it seems that the *dakṣiṇā* of the God is the gift

which was originally the cow, which he offers by the right hand, and the *dakṣiṇā* of men is the fee in the sacrifice placed on the right hand side.

When it is applied to Dawn we should not think that *dakṣiṇā* is the word for 'dawn,' or for the cow. Bergaigne, who always translates the word as "sacrificial fee," thinks that this fee in its celestial correspondence is the 'dawn'— the celestial gift to pious men. When *dakṣiṇā* is compared to a battle chariot (I. 123.5), chariot of sacrifice (I.164.9), the chariot which brings the Gods to the sacrifice 1.123.1 or the jong on which the gods mount (X.107.11), the idea of the efficacy of the sacrifice is attributed to the fee (*dakṣiṇā*) through which the sacrifice is completed. This fee thus becomes the principle of all good, so much so that it is itself deified and enumerated amongst gods (1.18.5) with the sacrifice itself (X. 103. 8). Then *dakṣiṇā* plays a rôle analogous to that of female elements of the sacrifice in general (III. 62.3) and has the same relations as these elements have in regard to *Agni* (III. 58, 1, V, 1. 3, VIII. 39.5) and *Soma* (IX. 71.1)

*Vihāyas* : Grassmann and Ludwig translate it as "the great Dawn." But etymologically *vi*+*hâ* gives an idea of expansion (*cf.* classical *vihāyas* meaning air, free space). In IV. 11.4, VIII. 23.19 this idea is intimately connected with that of health. In some of the hymns this idea is put in opposition to the idea of *aṁhas* "evil." So the idea suits very well the dawn liberated from her captivity during the night.

*Āryā* is according to Bergaigne a corrupt form for *arya ā* as *svarita* is never found in the RV. with *arya* which is translated "good, favourable." It is never used as an epithet of Dawn. In V. 75.7 (*tiraścid aryayā*) *aryayā* is corrected by Roth and Grassmann as *aryá ari* which is found in *ararivâṁs, araru, árâvan, ārāti*, etc., means "avaricious"—he who does not give. The word is etymologically *a*+*ri*, from the root √*ara* "to give" The opposite is *sûri* meaning "rich man" who sacrifices and gives in plenty.

*Kṛṣṇa* is, according to Grassmann, a neuter abstract noun meaning "obscurity." If we respect the reading in the text the word *ahan* should be taken as understood after *Kṛṣṇa*. The 'black day' is a known Vedic expression (*cf.* VI. 9. 1 *Kṛṣṇa-mahar*), also found in verse 9 of our hymn—**जानत्यह्नः प्रथमस्य नाम शुक्रा कृष्णादजनिष्ट श्वितीचौ**— "Knowing the nature of the first day, the shining and the white is born from the dark (day)."

*Cikitsante*: Grassmann translates it as "for showing herself." There is, however, no reason to suppose that the desiderative *Cikits* has taken the active sense of "moyen." Ludwig translates it as "heilbringend—bringing salvation." Ludwig thinks that the word implies the idea of "taking care" naturally the care which she takes is only the figurative expression for saying that she illuminates them. The desiderative *Cikits* is used with different prefixes, four other times in the RV. and Ludwig and Grassmann have never cared to give a consistent meaning in all these cases. The verb is often used with a complement. Thus in VI. 47.20 the complement is *panthâm*—

**बृहस्पते प्र चिकित्सा गविष्टावित्था सते जरित्र इन्द्र पन्थाम्।**

"Try to know, *illumine* the road for singers in the conquest of the Kine." The use of a verb with complement, helps to explain its use without complement. So in I. 91. 23 we should translate—

**"मा त्वा तनदोशिषे वीर्यस्योभयेभ्यः प्र चिकित्सा गविष्टौ"।**

"Illumine, serve with light (sers d'claireur), the two races (men and god) in the conquest of the Kine."

In the present verse also the Dawn approaches as the illuminator. She prepares the road for the human race for rendering them visible.

P. C. BAGCHI

## NANA FADNAVIS AND THE POONA VAKILS

The period of Nana's ascendency in the Poona Government, from 1778 to 1796-97, may rightly be considered as the last great period of the Maratha power in India. It is, indeed, a very striking period, not only in the history of the Marathas, but of India in general. The acute political struggles in this country, it may in a sense be said, reached the last vigorous stage; the issue of the real and the final struggle for supremacy in India between the Marathas and the English was in the process of being shaped, and it resulted in keen diplomatic fights, side by side with open warfare.

Nana Fadnavis made a last determined attempt to revive and keep up the prestige of the Peshwa's Government, and prevent the complete breaking up of the unity in the Maratha Empire. But the task was indeed very difficult; the disintegrating and disruptive forces were working fast. During the period of the great war with the English which continued till 1782, the Poona Government had to fight the enemy on the battle-fields, as well as to meet their diplomatic attempts to win over some leading Maratha Chiefs; Fattesing Gaikwar openly courted the English alliance (in 1780), and the attitude of Mudhoji Bhonsle remained very suspicious and uncertain for a long time; *Dada Saheb* (Raghunath Rao) had been all along making desperate attempts to humble the Ministerial Government; an unpleasant, and not always open, rivalry was going on between Nana and Mahadji Sindhia, that towering personality in the Empire; and, in fact, the poison of mutual jealousies and inevitable party factions had been eating into the vitals of the nation.

The situation, of course, improved much after the Treaty of Salbai (1782-83); the Poona Government was saved from utter destruction or total discredit, and the outward semblance of

solidarity in the Empire was restored to a considerable extent. But we must remember that even in the later period, after the Treaty of Salbai, as indeed in the earlier one, there was hardly a real solidarity in the Confederacy,—if we can quite appropriately use that term,—and a peculiar relation could be noticed between the Peshwa's Government and the Chief Sardars. True it is that even the two most prominent and powerful among them, Sindhia and Holkar, did not or could not do away with the custom of acknowledging the authority of the Peshwa's Government; but the fact remains that generally the leading Chiefs practically acted as quite independent rulers; and it should, further, be noted that there continued, on the whole, to exist practically a diplomatic relation between the Poona Government and some of the leading and powerful Maratha Sardars, and, again, among these Sardars themselves.[1]

Some of these Maratha Chiefs were now very prominent in the eyes of all powers in India. But it was Mahadji Sindhia who occupied, in this respect, the most unique position. He had acquired sufficient fame and importance even before the treaty of Salbai; and within a few years after that memorable event, he shone forth as the most formidable power in Northern India. He tried to fight out, with considerable success, almost all the discordant and strong political forces there, such as the turbulent Pathan Sardars, the strong league of prominent Rajput princes, the powerful Sikhs, the Jats, and the Afghan King (Timur Shah)[2] and his Viceroy in the North-West Frontiers of India. He practically dominated for some years over Northern India,

[1] *Maheswar Darbārchīñ Bātmīpatreñ* (*Itihās Sangraha*); *Par-rāshtryānchyā Darbārāñtīl Marāṭhyāñche Wakīl* (*I.S.*); *Jodhpur-yethil Rājkāraneñ* (*I.S.*); *Holkār Darbārāñtli Hingnyāchīñ Wakili* (*I.S.*); Sane, *Aitihāsik Patreñ-Yādī Vagaire* (*Kavyetihās-Sangraha*); Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Sangraha*, Vols. VI-IX; Gupte, Selections from the Historical Records of the Hereditary Ministers of Baroda; Etc.; Sardesai, *Marāhṭī Riyāsat, Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vols. I and II; Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, Vol. II; Macdonald, Nana Furnuwees.

[2] Not by actual fight but by conciliation.

with a firm hold upon the Imperial *Darbār*. He virtually established the strong foundation of a *de facto* Maratha Empire in Hindusthan, of which he wanted to be, and practically was, the real head, although it is interesting to notice that theoretically he remained a mere *Naib* or Deputy to the 'Vice-Emperor,' *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* (the Peshwa).[1] He acquired, as was quite natural, an all-India fame and importance; he became a dread to the princes of Hindusthan; the attention of all prominent powers in India fell upon him, some of whom became eager or thought it convenient to court his friendship.[2]

It was, therefore, no small credit to Nana Fadnavis that in such a situation, he could somehow maintain, at least outwardly, the prestige and authority of the Peshwa's Government. And it speaks a great deal of his ability, diplomacy and statesmanship, that inspite of many obstacles, difficulties and dangers, he could diplomatically and tactfully deal with both foreign powers and the Chief Sardars; and could boldly conduct, till the death of Mahadji Sindhia in 1794, an intricate and vigorous foreign policy, with an amount of success which he could rightly be proud of. With regard to the powerful and ambitious Maratha Chiefs, including Mahadji, he had to pursue a double-edged policy. He watched their movements and progress with suspicion, tried to handle them diplomatically, and, at times, wanted even to restrain the activities and progress of one or the other, from the standpoint of the interests of the Peshwa's Government. But he did not, at the same time, lose sight of a broad

[1] Mahadji Sindhia accepted that high and dignified office for the Peshwa from the fallen Mughal Emperor who practically surrendered to his authority.

[2] *Dillī-yethīl Marāṭhyāñchīñ Rājkāraneñ* (*I.S.*); *Jodhpur-yethīl Rājkāraneñ* (*I.S.*); *Maheswar Darbārchīñ Bātmīpatreñ* (*I.S.*); *Aitihāsik Tipneñ* (*I.S.*); *Bhāratvarsha* (Parasnis); Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Sangraha*, Vols. VIII and IX; *Kavyetihās-Sangraha*, *Patreñ-Yādī*; Franklin, Shah Alam; Forrest, Selections from State Papers; etc.; (Sardesai, *Marāṭhī Riyāsat*, *Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vol. II; Apte, *Pāṭilbavāñcheñ Rājkāraneñ*: Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, *Sammelan-Vritta*, 6th and 7th; Keene, Sindhia; Malleson, *Final French Struggles in India*; Malcolm, Central India, Vol. I; Malcolm, Political History of India, Vol. I; etc.).

Maratha national standpoint ; and it cannot perhaps be denied that he also worked to bring about, as far as practicable, a solidarity in the Maratha Empire.[1] The policy adopted by him after Mahadji's death speaks highly of his sound statesmanship and a broad national outlook. Just after the death of Sindhia, he seems to have banished from his mind all unpleasant feelings and thoughts of his lifelong rivalry with the departed great man. He immediately came forward to protect the territories of Sindhia against all disturbances and dangers during the period of confusion following his death : with a firm resolve he became ready to apply the full strength and resources of the Poona Government to preserve the prestige, the influence, and the power of the Marathas at the Imperial *Darbār* and in Hindustan, established by the life blood of Mahadji ; and made a strong appeal to both Ahalya Bai and Tukaji Holkar to do the same. During the last period of his greatness, following Sindhia's death, he seems to have really an ardent desire that all the leading Maratha Sardars should, forgetting their petty grievances, jealousies, and rivalries, unite on a broader national basis, to maintain and extend the Maratha influence and power, both in the South and in the North. He wanted them, of course, to accept the leadership of the Peshwa's Government, to work for the common cause and true interests of the Maratha nation. This was to a great extent the ideal for the realisation of which the able *Vakil* Devarao Mahadev Hingne worked for some time with Nana's instructions at Holkar's *Darbār*, after the death of Mahadji Sindhia.[2]

Nor were his attempts a total failure. The result could be seen in the great Maratha victory at the battle of Kharda (Kurdla) in 1795 and the humiliating treaty practically forced upon the Nizam, who, conscious of his own weakness, and feeling himself no match for either of his two powerful neighbours, the

[1] For references, see footnotes 1 and 10.

[2] *Holkār Darbārāñtlī Hingnyāñchīñ Wakilī* (*I.S.*), pp. 1-16 ; *Aitihāsik Tipneñ* (*I.S.*), Part IV, p. 23.

Marathas and Tipu Sultan, had already stooped to offer himself virtually as a protégé of the English. This was a memorable occasion when, inspite of many disintegrating forces, the leading Sardars assembled, for the last time in the history of the Marathas, for a common national purpose under the Peshwa's banner. This was, again, an instance of triumphant success of Nana's foreign policy, and a crowning act of his shrewd statesmanship and diplomacy;—it was practically a case of diplomatic victory over the English, for which Sir John Shore's inactive policy came in for severe criticism.[1]

As regards the success and achievements of Nana Fadnis, briefly surveyed above, a student of Maratha History must take into account the valuable services rendered by the Peshwa Government's Vakils,—diplomatic agents we may call them,—who worked at different centres, generally with Nana's instructions and under his guidance. The whole of the period under our survey is indeed marked by the great activities of the Poona Vakils at many foreign stations,—such as at the Imperial *Darbār* at Delhi, at the Rajput Courts of Jaipur and Jodhpur, at the *Darbār* of the Muslim rulers at Sringapatam, at the Portuguese and French Courts at Goa and Pondicherry respectively, with the English at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, at Nizam's *Darbār* at Hyderabad, and so on. The *Vākils* stationed at the courts of the Chief Maratha Sardars were also not less active nor less serviceable. We may mention below the names of some of the Poona *Vakils* of this period, who were all more or less notable for their services:

(1) Purushottam Mahādev Hingne (till 1782) and (2) Govindarāo Purushottam Hingne (1782 onwards), at Delhi;[2]

[1] *Rajwade, Marāṭhyānchyā Itihāsāchīñ Sādhaneñ*, Vols. V and VII; Khare, Aitihāsik Lekha Sangraha, Vol. IX; Kāvyethās-Sangraha, *Patreñ-Yādī*; Sardesai, *op. cit.*, *Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vol. II; Grant Duff, Vol. III; Wilks, Vol. III; Forrest, *Selections*; Malcolm, *Political History*, Vol. I; et.

[2] We may also mention the name of Sankarājī Sakhvev, a *Kārkūn*, who for some time conducted ably the *Vakil's* work at Delhi, on behalf of Govindarāo Purushottam, who was a mere boy at the time of his father's death.

(3) Lakshman Sambhāji, at Jaipur ; (4) Krishnaji Jagannath, at Jodhpur ;[1] (5) Krishnāji Bālāl Kāḷe and (6) Govindarāo Krishna Kāḷe, at Nizam's Court ; (7) Narashinghrāo and (8) Krishnarāo Nārāyan Joshi, at Mysore *Darbār* ; (9) Janārdan Shivarām, at Madras ; (10) Ranasoḍ Krishna and (11) Raghunath Ranasoḍ, at Bombay (the latter, 1788 onwards); (12) Lakshman Govinda, at Surat ; (13) Lālā Sevakrām, at Calcutta ; (14) Viṭhṭhal Shāmrāj (1779-1784) and (15) Keso Vikāji, at Maheswar *Darbār* (the latter stayed there for some time together with Viṭhṭhal Sāmrāj, and continued till 1798-9) ; (16) Nāraoshiv Dev and (17) Sadāshiv Dinkar, with Mahadji Sindhia ; and (18) Devarāo Mahādev Hingne.

We must remember that some of the *Vakils* mentioned in the above list were engaged in various important missions, and evidently they could not permanently remain at one place only.

Most of these *Vakils* performed their work with industry and ability, and had useful services to their credit. Some of them were quite worthy politicians and diplomats, and were really valuable assets to Nana, by their tactful and diplomatic activities at the respective stations, and their shrewd and often statesmanlike views and suggestions sent to the Government from time to time.[2]

[1] We have his correspondence during his stay at Jodhpur, as published in *Itihās-Sangraha*, dating from 1785 to 1794. (See *Jodhpur-Yethil Rājkāraneñ.*)

[2] *Par-rāshtrānchyā Dar. Marā-Wakīl* (*I. S.*); *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ* (*I. S.*); *Maheswar Dar. Bātmīgatreñ* (*I. S.*); *Holkār Dar. Hingnyāchīn Wakilī* (*I. S.*); *Haidar wa Tipu hyānchyā Darbārāntīl Patreñ* (*I. S.*)—Rajkwade, *Marā. Iti. Sādhaneñ*, Vol. XIX); *Jodhpur-Yethil Rājkāraneñ* (*I. S.*): *Aitihāsih Tipneñ* (*I. S.*); *Kāvyetihās-Sangraha, Pātreñ-Yadī*; Rajwade, *Marā. Iti. Sādroneñ*, Vols. V, VII, X, XI & XII, XXII; Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Sangraha*, Vols. VII, VIII, & IX; *Peshwas, Diaries*; etc.; Sardesai, *op. cit., Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vols. I & II.

## II

## ACTIVITIES OF SOME PROMINENT VAKILS DURING 1778-1782 AND A PICTURE OF NANA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLES.

The Vakils of the Poona Government did really render valuable services during that period of confusion and enormous difficulties and keen diplomatic struggles, 1778 to 1782-83. We shall try here to give some account of the activities of some prominent *vakils* (whom we have mentioned before) during this period, from which we shall also have some idea of Nana's foreign policy and diplomatic struggles at the time.

### 1. *Purushottam Mahadev Hingne, at Delhi Darbar.*

Of these *vakils*, Purushottam Mahadev may perhaps deserve a special mention, if not for any other reason, for the importance of the station he worked at. He served at Delhi with ability for a pretty long time till 1782.[1] We shall, however, refer here to his activities during 1780-82, when Delhi witnessed the glorious days of the renowned Moslem general, statesman and diplomat, Mirza Najaf Khan, the last great man of the Imperial

[1] The editor of *Dillī-Yethil-Rājkāraneñ* says that he died in 1783 (Introduction, p. 7). But it must be pointed out that a letter of Nana, of the 20th May, 1782, shows that he had recently received, in a letter from a reliable person, the news of the death of both Purushottam and Mirza Najaf Khan, at Delhi. (*Kāvyetihas-Sangraha, Patren-Yādī*, letter No. 293, p. 239; ed. of 1930, edited by Sardesai, Kale and Vakaskar, letter No. 349, p. 305.) We do not get from this source the date of the death of either of them. But we know that Mirza Najaf, as proved by Persian source, died on 6th April, 1782 (see Qanngo, *History of the Jats*, Vol. I, p. 322). From this we are certainly not in a position to surmise the exact date of Purushottam's death; but perhaps it can be presumed to have occurred some time during the period March-April, 1782. We may, next, take our stand on the evidence of a letter from the Peshwa Government's *vakil* at Maheswar *Darbār* to Poona. As has been pointed out to me by Sj. Sardesai, the letter is to be taken to be dated 3rd May, 1782, instead of 14th May, 1781 (an unavoidable mistake of the editor of *Itihās-Sangraha*). In this letter, the *vakil* sends the news of the death of both Najaf Khan and Purushottam Hingne, as carried by a letter from Delhi. It seems probable from this letter that they died within a few days of each other. (See *Maheswar Dar. Bātmipatreñ*, Part I, letter No. 47, pp. 117-118.)

Government.[1] It is no small credit to the Maratha *Vakil* that during this period he worked there with ability, tactfulness and diplomacy,—and with a fair amount of success,—as would appear from his correspondence with the Poona Government, to safeguard the interests of the Marathas, to create and maintain their influence in the Imperial Court. During all this time, he tried to be in constant touch with Delhi politics and feel the pulse of various diplomatic activities round the Mughal *Darbār*. He tried to keep a strict watch upon the motives and movements of the diplomatic agents of other powers coming there. He took special care to watch the relation between the English and the *Darbār*; particularly suspicious about the diplomatic movements of both Mirza Najaf Khan and the English, he worked hard to prevent any possible friendly combination between them. His official correspondence shows that he tried to deal very tactfully and diplomatically with both the Emperor and Najaf Khan. From his own reports, it would appear that much is due to his tactful and persistent work, particularly his anti-English canvassing and activities, that the Emperor became really much inclined towards the Marathas, that both he and Mirza Najaf repeatedly gave verbal as well as written assurances of their friendly alliance with Maratha Government, and even of their determination and readiness to commence at any moment actual hostilities against the English; that a diplomatic combination could not be possible at that time between the English and Najaf Khan (which has been suspected and feared by the Maratha leaders[2]); that the English could not create a strong influence in the Imperial *Darbār* and get a footing at Delhi, although they tried hard to do so by various

[1] Franklin, *Shah Alam*; *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I; *Siyar-ul-Mutaqharin* (Pub. R. Cambray & Co.), Vol. IV; Etc.; Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Vol. I.

[2] It appears clear that Nana Fadnavis had a particular suspicion and fear about a possible diplomatic combination between the English and Mirzā Najaf Khān during this time. Mahadji Sindhia also appears to have had a similar suspicion or fear. (*Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I: Warren Hasting's Correspondence.)

clever and diplomatic means; and that the English and Lucknow had, therefore, a strong grudge against him, and even wanted to have him anyhow chastised, in order to put a stop to his activities.[1]

An impartial reader, after going through his correspondence may think that the *vakil* perhaps tried to take from his government too much credit for his work. He may see through the correspondence that Mirza Najaf Khan was not a man to be easily tackled with by the diplomatic attempts of the Maratha *Vakil* at Delhi or of the renowned statesman and diplomat dictator at Poona, if he did not himself choose, thinking it convenient or profitable to be so handled by them; and he may reasonably think that the famous Moslem diplomat was perhaps all along playing, at least to some extent, with the Maratha *Vakil*, by solemn assurances of friendship and alliance with the Marathas, and particularly by loud promises of launching the Imperial army to open immediately a vigorous campaign against the English, coupled with equally strong excuses for his inability to do so. A critical reader may not also be prepared to believe all that the *Vakil* said about the diplomatic attempts of the English, his grand success in frustrating all such attempts, and, naturally, their grudge against him.[2]

But even after such a critical study, enough remains to make us think highly of the able work of Purushottam at Delhi during this time. A student of Maratha History should specially remember that this able and far-sighted *vakil* was, as is clear from his correspondence, very keen about the establishment of Maratha influence and authority at the Imperial *Darbār* and in Hindusthan, with a control over the weak Emperor; and he strongly advised his government to make an

[1] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ.* Part I, letters 1, 5, 9-10, 13, 17, 21, 31, 33, 37-42, 46, 49, 63, *etc.*

[2] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I, letters 13, 17, 33, 39-42.

attempt to do so as early as possible.[1] It may be noted that Mahadji Sindhia had this burning ideal before him, and boldly tried to work upon it after the Treaty of Salbai with a brilliant success. It is clear that the *vakil* was also in correspondence with Sindhia during 1780-82, and was getting occasional instructions or encouragements from the latter as to his diplomatic work at Delhi.[2] It is not our purpose here to discuss how Sindhia was keenly watching the political condition of Delhi during this period. But we should remember that Purushottam Mahadev seems to have served as a valuable asset to Sindhia's ambitious design to enter into Delhi politics; and it can perhaps be said that he did the spade work, and at least to some extent prepared the ground, so to say, for Mahadji's ascendency in the Mughul *Darbār* in the near future.[3]

Before we proceed further, it may be mentioned that in spite of his laborious work, the *Vakil*, as shown by his correspondence, did not neglect the duty of sending, as much as possible, important political news of Delhi as well as of other places that could be gathered from his station. For this, as well as for his diplomatic work, he was required to make a regular despatch of letters to his government: sometimes, we find, a number of letters were written in a day.[4]

We may now particularly refer to the activities of this Maratha *Vakil* in connection with another important matter. During the first half of 1781, there was a strong plan, in which

[1] *Ibid*, Part I, letters 6, 10, 13.

[2] *Kavyetihās-Sangraha*, *Patreñ-Yādī*, letter 322 (ed. of 1930, letter 275, pp. 250-51); *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I; *etc.*

It may be noted, for instance, that Sindhia had advised Purushottam before June 1780, to be particularly careful that the English might not grow more powerful and create their influence in the Mughal *Darbār* by an alliance with Nawāb Najab Khan (Mirza Najaf Khan), who, as rightly pointed out by him, was at that time the only strong man at Delhi. (*Dillī-Yethīl Marā Rājkaraneñ*, Part I, letter 9.)

[3] and [4] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I.

both Nana Fadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia concurred, of starting an invasion upon the Doab and Bengal, and particularly upon the latter, in order to cut off the financial resources of the English. It was decided that the expedition would be led by Sindhia, joined with a strong Imperial force.[1] We need not enter into details of this project. It is sufficient for our purpose to tell the readers that Purushottam Mahadev worked his level best from Delhi to make this plan a grand success. He tried hard to persuade the Emperor and Najaf Khan to agree to give the full co-operation of the Imperial army to this projected expedition; and he got loud promises from both. The correspondence between him and the Peshwa's Government till August, 1781, clearly reveals that both he and his instructor at Poona (Nana) were very anxious to mature this plan as early as possible.[2] It may be noted that his correspondence of August (1781) shows that he had been in communication with both Hindu and Moslem princes of Kanauj, Farokkabad, etc., who, according to his report sent to Nana, had all promised to give their support and help to the Marathas in the event of their expected invasion of *Antarved* (the Doab).[3] In a letter written in the following September, we find that he assured Nana Fadnavis of the assistance of Raja Chait Singh in the projected invasion upon Calcutta under *Pāṭil Bāvā* (Majadji Sindhia) ;—financial help, it may be noted, is distinctly mentioned. We notice that he had already been in correspondence with the Rāja on this matter. He wrote to his government about the convenient route of the expedition, that is, *viâ* Benares, and the help to be received from Chait Singh; and

[1] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I; *Kāvyetihās-Sangraha, Patreñ-Yādī*, letters 264, 308 (ed. 1930, letters 306 and 321, pp. 274, 286); Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Sangraha*, Vol. VII, pp. 3632-3636 (Sardesai, *op. cit., Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vol. I, pp. 311-312).

[2] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rajkāraneñ*, Part I, letters 45, 49-52, 59, 62, *etc.*

[3] *Ibid*, Part I, letter No. 45.

he informed that he had been accordingly trying to negotiate with the Raja.[1]

It may be noted that while Majadji had been involved, in the heart of his own territories, in a prolonged and desperate fight with Col. Camac and Col. Muir, Bālājī Janardan[2] did not at all give up the cherished plan; and both he and the *Vakil* at Delhi remained in high expectation that Pāṭīl Bāvā would soon be able to lead an attack upon the Doab and Bengal, after finishing speedily his fight with the English. Nor was Bālāji slow in trying his best to bring that fight to a happy close. He tried to reinforce Sindhia with the Peshwa's troops as best he could. And, we find, Purushottam Mahadev tried hard to persuade both Najaf Khan and the Emperor to despatch a strong Imperial force to join Mahadji and fight with the English, and thus fulfil their solemn promises of friendly alliance with the Marathas against that power. It is worth noticing that even while Mahadji Sindhia had been already negotiating with Col. Muir, Purushottam, as of course instructed by Nana, continued to make that attempt at Delhi with an untiring energy and zeal—as it would appear from his correspondence.[3]

But a hard blow was given to that grand plan when Sindhia entered into a definite treaty with the English by the middle of October (13th), 1781. And it should be remembered that in spite of all the fine promises and assurances of both the Emperor and Mirza Najaf Khan, the Imperial army did not, as a matter of fact, stir out to open hostilities against the English, either before or after the conclusion of Sindhia's treaty with that power. A strong reason or excuse repeatedly put forth by Najaf Khan (and the Emperor), as can be learnt from the Vakil's

[1] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I, letter 62, p. 61.

[2] Nana Fadnavis.

[3] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*, Part I, letters 33, 34, 35, 38, 44, 45, 49, 50, 53, 59, 62, 63, etc.

correspondence, was that the Imperial army was busy in dealing with the Sikhs. Najaf, together with the Emperor, tried to convince Purushottam, as we understand from his letters till August 1781, that in spite of their earnest desire, they had not been in a position to act according to the wishes of the Maratha Government, because of the trouble created by the Sikhs. The Sikh war or the Sikh trouble was, of course, not a fiction;[1] but that does not, at any rate, seem to be a sufficient reason to explain the whole matter. We must not think that the Maratha *Vakil* was so foolish as not to have tried to understand the real attitude and position of the Moslem diplomat and the possible course of action to be taken by him. The Vakil's correspondence at least would not permit us to form such a poor notion about him. It appears that he had a great doubt whether in spite of all his anti-English expressions and his repeated promises, Najaf would seriously like to commence, at least hastily, actual hostilities against that power. And therefore, he, all the more, made a continued attempt to persuade and, if possible, practically force him to do so by trying to apply all the arts of Maratha diplomacy.[2]

One more point, and we leave the Imperial *Darbār*. It appears that even after Sindhia had entered into that treaty with the English, the renowned Fadnavis went on trying to persuade Mirza Najaf Khan to open a campaign against that power (and, we find, the instructions from Poona to that effect came even when Najaf Khan was already dead by April, 1782).[3] But if Mirza Najaf could not or did not seriously like to do it before the conclusion of the treaty between Mahadji and the English,

[1] Franklin, *Shah Alam*; *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkāraneñ*; *etc.*

[2] *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rjākārneñ*, Part I, letters 10, 14, 17, 20, 21, 31, 43, 44, 49, 53, 55 58, 60, 63, etc.

[3] *Ibid*, Part I, letter 64 (pp. 63-64).

it could hardly be expected that he would do so after that important event.[1]

SURATH CHANARA SENGUPTA.

[1] I have tried to make an estimate of Purushottam from a study of his own correspondence with the Poona Government. The defect of such a study is obvious. Some amount of guess work is unavoidable. Consciously or unconsciously I may have greatly magnified his importance. We must not think that he was the best type of a Maratha ambassador; nor, I believe, can we say that he was a man of little worth.

It has been pointed out by Sjt. G. S. Sardesai that the dates in the letters of *Dillī-Yethīl Marā. Rājkārāneñ* are not all accurately given (*Marāthī Riyāsat, Uttar-Vibhāg*, Vol. II).

It has not been possible for me to test the accuracy of all the English dates given to the letters I have used for my present purpose. If some inaccuracies are found out, it may be necessary later to correct or modify some of my statements. The dates in the original letters that have been printed in the *Dillī-Yethīl Rājkāraneñ*, now preserved in the Parasnis Museum at Satara, require to be examined thoroughly by a capable scholar, so that this very useful collection of letters may be used with confidence.

We must remember that the subject of diplomatic struggles round the Imperial *Darbār* during the period of which we are speaking, till the ascendency of Mahadji Sindhia, remains to be thoroughly treated. The study would be really interesting, and would clear up a very important phase of the epoch-making period of Modern Indian History. The Marathi source, of course, throws light on the matter, and may enable us at least to indicate certain lines; but an honest worker will fully realise that a thorough and impartial study of Persian, Marathi, English, and other available, useful sources may alone do full justice to the subject.

## A LOVE SONG

*(Translated from the French of Victor Hugo)*

O, if it were a fragrant field
Where rainy water flows,
Where through all the lively seasons
The lovely flower glows.
Where youths and maids with handfuls glean
Lily, honey-suckle and jasmine,...
There I shall make a passage green
That thy feet may repose.

O, if it were a loving heart
That virtue doth dispose,
Whose devotion is its heart's throb
And nothing of morose;
If ever this noble heart doth take,
To build a palace for thy sake,
A feathered pillow shall I make,
Where thy brow will repose.

O, if it were a dream of love
Perfumed with fragrant rose,
Dream,—when the heart ne'er fails to find
Sweet things of memories, woes;
A lover's dream that God hath blest,
When " soul for soul " is soul's behest,
Within that dream I will build a nest
Where thy heart will repose.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

# DEMOCRACY IN EARLY BUDDHIST SANGHA

The Buddhist Saṅgha which in the beginning of its formation consisted only of members with very high spiritual attainments like the ' Pañca vaggiya' group (M. V. I § 6),[1] the Kassapa brothers of Uruvelā and their followers better known as the 'Jaṭilas' (M. V. I. §§ 16-20), the 'Bhaddavaggiyas' (M. V. I § 14), Sāriputta and Moggallāna of Rajagaha (M. V. I §24) etc., enlisted when formally established in the country, men who in their ignorance could not even calculate the date of the fortnightly assembly called 'Uposatha' regularly held for determining the purity of the Order and conducting its multifarious business. It became, therefore, the duty of the elected chief monk bearing the designation of ' Thera' in the Vinaya (M. V. II § 11) to give timely information to the resident monks (āvāsikā bhikkhū) about the date and hour of this Uposatha assembly lest their attendance which was obligatory on all be delayed or withheld (M. V. II, § 19). In the case of a 'bhikkhu' being laid up with illness at some other place causing his bodily removal to the Uposatha hall dangerous to life the Saṅgha was asked to hold the meeting where he lay as the quorum consisted in the sitting of the full assembly and the non-attendance of even a single member, no matter under what circumstances it took place, was sufficient to invalidate the entire proceedings (M. V II § 5).

The rules of the Saṅgha in the Vinaya Mahā-Vagga dealing thus far with the 'Chanda' (vote) even of the sickmonk and his declaration of Pārisuddhi (purity) required for validating the enactments of the Uposatha (M. V. II §§ 1-23) may be conveniently looked upon as belonging to an early date when monks spiritually advanced and fully alive to their duties, generally composed the Order and held sway over it.

[1] M. V. = Mahā Vagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka

But, with the rapid development of Saṅgha organisations throughout the country in the very life-time of the Master, his best endeavours to make the Uposatha as established by the aforesaid laws a success seem to have failed, as irregularities of every description began to creep into its observance due to monks who in their quest for freedom could not be bound down to a fixed constitution.

" tena kho pana samayena sambahuta bhikkhū bālā avyattā disaṃgamikā ācariyupajjhāye na āpucchanti etc., etc"

(M. V, II § 21).

It must be assumed, however, that to have come to this stage it took the Saṅgha much time and not long before the closing years of the Tathagatha himself when due to old age his personal interest became less keen in the affairs of Saṅgha units which were then widely scattered all over the country sheltering within their respective folds a considerable number of members of very poor intellect. It was impracticable if not impossible to obtain a full gathering for a quorum at the appointed time on the occasion of Uposatha as some of the Bhikkhus would be at long distances on that day and could not meet punctually (M.V. II §§ 28-32).

In a spirit of democracy, therefore, which dominated the minds of the Sākyaputtiya Samanas (followers of the Buddha) new Uposatha rules were enacted in modification of the older ones making them as far consistent as possible with the ideal of unity in purity which the Saṅgha held aloft before the world, although, on a closer inspection they seem to betray a desire on the part of their framers to maintain its unity rather than its purity.

These rules can be justly looked upon as ushering in a period of majority control in the whole history of the Buddhist Saṅgha marking the time of its ascendency in popular faith and esteem.

This control of the Saṅgha by the majority soon became manifested in full vigour through what might be looked upon as its outlets or veins of activities which kept up the flow of its life-stream and maintained its strength.

The activities of the Saṅgha feeding this life-stream are again brought under four different heads or principles as follows :—

(1) The Uposatha ceremony and its acts were to be considered valid if it was held by the majority of members present at a centre. (M. V. II §§ 23-33).

(2) Resident monks could claim no special privilege for continued residence in a Vihāra enjoying as they did equal rights with the visitors (M. V. II §§ 34 paras. 1-9).

(3) Residents and visitors must make a common cause of their demands and were expected to stand united at a Uposatha meeting. (M. V. II § 34, paras. 10-13).

(4) Residents were not allowed to change their residence in anticipation of being overpowered by visitors or on any other personal ground on the day of Uposatha (M. V. II § 35).

On a further discussion of these rules, it will be found that those under head (1) while validating the passing of an act or acts by the majority of Bhikkhus in the absence of the minority did not absolve their authors from the guilt of being member of an incomplete assembly except when four or more 'Bhikkhus' not knowing that other resident 'Bhikkhus' were absent held the Uposatha in accordance with the 'Vinaya.'

The above rule further testifies to the fact that Saṅgha business (kamma) could not be carried on at a Uposatha meeting where less than four 'bhikkhus' were present.

Under all other circumstances the majority were blameable according to the magnitude of the wickedness of their purposes as the following will show :

Bhikkhus when perfectly knowing that other resident bhikkhus were absent or feeling doubt as to their fitness for holding the ceremony or given to misbehaviour, held the Uposatha, being in the majority, were individually guilty of a 'Dukkata' (minor) offence; and, committed each a 'Thula-ceaya' (major) offence when they did the same with a view to creating schism in the Saṅgha (M. V. II §§ 29-32).

In every case, however, if a larger number of Bhikkhus turned up at the meeting while its business was being conducted or just finished but the assembly had not risen either partially or fully, the bussiness had to be gone through anew with a fresh recital of the Pātimokkha. But, if the same or a lesser number of monks came in, what was done was considered well done whether or not the authors were blameable according as stated above.

Thus, the very fact of a Uposatha assembly being held by the majority was sufficient to give the acts, good, bad or indifferent, passed therein, the stamp of validity even though the members might be personally guilty of minor or major offences under particular circumstances.

Such a state of things, however, could not go on for an indefinite length of time at any centre as the evil designs of mischief-mongers referred to in the Vinaya as the 'Chavaggiya Bhikkhus,' were rendered inoperative by the rule enjoining that the residents of a 'Vihāra' could claim no special privilege on account of their continued residence and must be prepared to welcome visitors from other Vihāras who might come there in larger numbers to nullify their acts and resolutions (M. V. II § 34).

In this connection the rules of the Vinaya point to a still later origin as legalising a third day, *viz.*, the first day following the fifteenth, a full moon or a new moon day as the case might be, as a proper date for holding the Uposatha which hitherto fell either on the fourteenth or the fifteenth only. The selection of the date for Uposatha, as is evident from these rules, depended on local customs and varied with different centres.

In case there was a difference as to the date for holding the Uposatha between the residents and the visitors having it on the fourteenth and the fifteenth respectively or *vice versa* and the visitors outnumbered the residents, the latter had to perform Uposatha jointly with the former.

"Sace āgantukā bahutarā honti, āvasikehi āgantukānaṃ anuvattitabbaṃ." (M.V. II, § 34, para. 1).

But, if the number of visitors was the same or less, then they had to accommodate themselves to the requirements of the residents. The same was the procedure when the difference in dates for Uposatha between the residents and the visitors was in respect of the fifteenth or the first.

It will thus be seen that when visitor monks entered a Vihara in larger numbers the residents thereof had not only to yield to them in all business matters relating to the Saṅgha but also with respect to the date for holding the Uposatha. In fact, under such circumstances the visitors became the masters of the house and its erstwhile residents, unless they could prevail over the visitors by reason of arguments, stood vanquished.

If, however, the visitors or the residents forming the minority could not come to an understanding with the majority, they were perfectly free to hold a separate Uposatha of their own provided it took place outside the original boundary (simā, M.V. II, § 12) in which case they had no other alternative but to walk out of the jurisdiction of the Vihāra leaving it to the care of the majority.

" āvāsikānaṃ nākāmā dātabbā sāmaggi āvāsikehe nissīmaṃ gantvā uposatho kātabbo " (M. V. II, § 34, para. 4).

The danger of disunion which threatened this scheme of Saṅgha activities by compelling the minority to withdraw if they so desired to some unclaimed jurisdiction, was sought to be neutralised by the promulgation of the rule that neglect on the part of the parties to explore all avenues of mutual settlement was a violation of law (M. V. II, § 34, paras. 10-13).

Even a joint Uposatha of the residents and the visitors without a mutual discussion and settlement (abhivitaranaṃ) of their respective differences was illegal as it was felt desirable that in the event of disagreement they must hold separate Uposathas.

" Idha pana bhikkhave āgantukā bhikkhū passanti āvāsike bhikkhū nanāsaṃvāsake * * te pucchanti pucchitvā nābhivitaranti anabhivitaritvā ekato Uposathaṃ karanti āpatti dukkaṭassa * * " (M.V. II, § 34, para. 10).

The rules enjoining upon the residents and the visitors to meet together for settling points of common interest or differences were as follows :

When, after seeing signs of the presence of the resident monks, the visitors felt doubtful about them and finding them after making searches, held Uposatha together or not finding them held Uposatha apart, it was lawful. But if after feeling doubtful the visitors made no enquiries about the residents and held Uposatha apart they committed each a Dukkaṭa (minor) offence, while a Thullaccaya (major) offence was committed when Uposatha was held apart with a view to create schism in the Saṅgha.

The same rules equally applied to the residents in their dealings with the visitors.

Lastly, a law was enforced giving the maximum advantage which could possibly be obtained by the resident monks under the above Saṅgha constitution though its promulgation curtailed more or less the free movement of monks requiring a change of residence. The law was that except in danger or along with the entire Saṅgha the 'bhikkhus' individually or collectively could not leave their residence on the day of Uposatha (M.V. II, § 35).

It was thus against the Vinaya discipline to deplete the number of resident monks by the voluntary departure of some of them from the declared area on the day of Uposatha. This rule might then be looked upon as calculated to retain intact the strength of the existing 'Saṅgha' in a Vihāra at least on the day when its main issues were to be discussed and settled. In case of extreme necessity a 'Bhikkhu' could only leave his monastery when the residents of the 'Vihāra' he wanted to go to, were of the same views as he himself cherished and he covered the journey in the same day *i.e.*, the Uposatha day (M.V. II, § 35, para. 5).

It would not be improper here to make an attempt to get at the principal idea underlying this democratic system of the Saṅgha government in ancient India.

The Uposatha wherein all matters of importance relating to the relevant Saṅgha were discussed and settled was to be only one within the same boundary[1] (sīmā) and those desiring to have a different one held it inside or outside the boundary according as they were in the majority or minority irrespective of their being visitors or residents. But, before deciding upon having separate Uposathas, the first thing they should do was to make an attempt to adjust their differences; which solved they should hold one complete Uposatha, if not, different ones as noted above. It was also admitted that different outlooks and opinions there must be due to residence in different centres (nānā saṃvāsakā) of 'bhikkhus' who on failing to reach an agreement must do their Uposatha works separately, joint action in which case was looked upon as a hindrance to the attainment of the ideal.

It was undoubtedly expected that the 'Bhikkhus' of different outlooks perhaps due to their belonging to different nationalities must sink after mutual discussions, all provincial and dialectical differences that might exist between them and try their utmost to meet at a common Uposatha and perform it as one people subscribing to the same views. But, graver were the consequences and more imminent was the peril when unmindful of the existing friction the parties undertook to hold one Uposatha out of mere courtesy. Far from being justifiable such an action constituted a breach of Saṅgha discipline.

Discord in the Saṅgha should be avoided at any cost but not suppressed as contrary views had their due place outside it.

The sin of preaching irreligiously, it may be noted, was expiated only by an expression of regret (Pācittiya Dhamma, §§ 55, 56, 57, etc.) but that for trying to create schism in the Saṅgha was a more heinous one and punishable with greater severity, however religious in other respects the member or members committing it might be (Sanghādisesa rules, §§ 10,

[1] The propriety of this procedure was contested by the Vajjian monks in one of their ten indulgences one hundred years afterwards. Therefore the pre-existence of this rule is automatically established by them.

11). Acknowledging as they did in unambiguous terms the value of every shade of opinion, the democratic Bhikkhus of ancient India only made it imparative that views tending to create disunion must be segregated and not fostered in the same community. That unity in variety is the law of nature and diverse opinions if differently located might ultimately lead to peace and concord in a wider field of which they might form parts, was the guiding principle on which the democracy of the Saṅgha was based.

To the early 'Sākyaputtiya Samanas' by which term the followers of the Buddha were known, 'concord' was almost synonymous with 'purity' itself. To succour the disciples living in concord was a part of the prayer which pleased the great Teacher (Samagge Sāvake passa esā Buddhāna vandanā).[1] A particular Saṅgha rule enjoins that however guilty a monk might be if he be found not guilty by the community at any subsequent time he should be thereafter recognised as innocent and pure (M. V., § 79 para. 4 and II. § 27, para. 15). Only for concord, if for nothing else, the verdict of the Saṅgha whenever and wherever it might be pronounced was to be respected and upheld and a scrupulous recognition of this principle practically amounted to fulfilling the conditions of holiness. It would therefore be not unreasonable to ascribe to the authors of ancient Indian democracy, of which the Saṅgha government was only a special form made suitable for the monks, the belief, be it fundaor not, that truth and purity lay in harmony and unity.

GOKUL DAS DE

[1] The prayer of Maha Pajapati Gotami.

# HAFIZ—HIS LIFE AND POETRY [1]

Hafiz needs no introduction. His name is a household word in Persia. He is known in the East; he is known in the West; in fact he is known all over the world.

Persia has played a great part in the ancient history of the world. But unfortunately we do not possess an accurate and systematic record of her past eminence except the casual references which we often come across in works on Greek civilization and the Persian conquest of Alexander the Great. These notices, however meagre and scanty, establish the fact that even before the Greek conquest Persia had a history and culture of her own.

It is frequently alleged that Persian poetry owes its origin and splendour to Islamic influence, but the fact remains, as Professor Azad has observed, that the Persians sang before the Arabs conquered Persia. This is pre-eminently borne out by the fact that the metres commonly used in Persian poetry are quite different from those prevalent in the Arabic. Further, it is not possible that a country entirely devoid of literature and poetry should make such a wonderful progress in this art, within the short period of a few centuries, and produce poets like Firdausi, Sana'i, Umar Khayyam, Nizami, Sa'di and Hafiz of Shiraz. All these poets flourished between the sixth and eighth centuries of the Hijra, *i.e.*, only six or eight hundred years after the birth of Islam; and yet, their philosophic ideas, beautiful language, fascinating expressions, charming style, and appropriate similes and suitable metaphors, and the masterly way of their dealing with various subjects, eloquently speak that this all-round perfection is not due to the hasty and immature influence of foreign people.

1 Lecture delivered by Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi on "Hafiz—his Life and Poetry" in Asutosh Building under the auspices of the Poetry Society (Incorporated).

Persia has a galaxy of brilliant poets, but I shall confine myself only to the one brightest of the stars in this galaxy—I mean the immortal poet Hafiz of Shiraz. Though much has been written about Hafiz there is much left to know about him yet.

Khwaja Shams-ud-Din Muhammad is the real name of our poet, but he is better known by his *takhallus* or "nom-de-guerre" Hafiz in the literary world. He was born at Shiraz, the capital of Fars, in the early part of the 14th century of the Christian era, when the Muzaffar dynasty reigned in Persia. It is unfortunate that the exact date of his birth is not known, and it has been a fruitful source of discussion among his biographers. Nor do we know much about his education, or his family or extraction. In the absence of official record, the only trust-worthy data on which we can rely in respect of his life and career are those to be gathered from the study of his poems.

Shiraz, the poet's birthplace and lifelong residence, is a town of considerable size, pleasantly and picturesquely situated in a small but beautiful and fertile plain surrounded by a chain of lofty hills. It was the capital of the great province of Fars or Persia proper, during the days of Hafiz, and the chief seat of education and learning, and a thriving town celebrated for the production of wine and rose-water.

Baha-ud-Din, the father of Hafiz, came from Ispahan to Shiraz during the time of the Atabeck Kings, and he enriched himself by trade. He died young leaving his business in confusion. For some time the family, which consisted of three sons and a widow, subsisted on the property which the deceased had left; but at length the elder brothers of Hafiz were obliged to leave their home in order to earn their livelihood. They went away but nobody knows where. Hafiz being the youngest remained at home and was obliged to do some work in order to maintain himself and support his mother as well. Circumstances thus compelled him to take up service in a baker's shop. Nevertheless he found time to attend a neighbouring school, where he

obtained a moderate education, and learned the Qur'an, the Muslim Scripture, and committed it to memory, which gave him the appellation "Hafiz," a term commonly applied to those who learn the Qur'an by heart, and it is generally believed that he thus adopted "Hafiz," as his pen-name.

At this time the people of Shiraz took keen interest in poetry. The receptive mind of Hafiz could not escape the influence of this atmosphere. He began to attend the meeting of poets which generally used to be held at the shop of a cloth merchant in the neighbourhood, who was also gifted as a poet. Here the poets used to come with their poetical compositions and recite in a competitive spirit. Soon afterwards Hafiz also began to compose verses and recited them before the assembly, but with little success. This greatly mortified his spirit and all the time he was endeavouring his best to become a great poet.

The following anecdote, still credited by many in Persia, will indicate how Hafiz became one of the greatest poets ever lived in Persia. About four miles from Shiraz there is a place called Pir-i Sabz (the green saint), situated on a hill called Baba Kuhi; concerning which old legends declared that he who for forty consecutive nights kept vigil there, would as a reward become an eminent poet. Hafiz registered a vow to go through the discipline and keep the vigil on the spot for the required number of nights. It so happened that at the same time he contracted a liking for a beloved whom he calls in his sonnets, "Shākh-i Nabāt" (the branch of sugar candy), who paid little heed to the suit of Hafiz. He used to pass by her house every morning in the hope of seeing her but without success, and every evening he went to keep his vigil at the shrine. On the fortieth morning while he, as usual, was passing by her house, to his great surprise and joy, he saw "Shākh-i Nabāt" standing at the latticed window and who beckoned to him. Hafiz being overjoyed entered her house and was received with marked attention. Like an enchantress in the Isle of Bliss she induced him to stay all night; but Hafiz remembered his vow and inspite of all her

solicitations he hurried off to Pir-i Sabz to complete his vigil. At dawn of the day he fell into a trance and saw in his vision a venerable old man, or as is commonly believed, the Khizr[1] giving him some mysterious heavenly drink to take, and blessed him, saying that henceforth the gift of poetry would be his. On recovering his consciousness he left the place singing the following remarkably beautiful verses, which astonished every hearer :—

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجـــاتم دادند
و اندران ظلمت شب آب حیـــاتم دادند
بیخـــود از شعشعـــهٔ پرتو ذاتم کردند
باده از جام تجلـــي صفـــاتم دادند
چه مبارک سحری بود و چه فرخنده شبی
آن شب قدر که این تازه بـــراتم دادند
اینهمه شهـــد و شکر کز سخنـــم میریزد
اجر صبریست کزان شاخ نبـــاتم دادند

"Last night, at dawn, me freedom from grief they gave ;
And in that darkness of night, me the water-of-life they gave.
"Through the effulgence of the ray of His essence, me senseless they made ;
From the cup of splendour of His attributes, me wine they gave.
"How auspicious morning it was, and how a joyous moment ;
That night-of-power when me this privilege they gave.
"All this honey and sugar that from my speech poureth ;
Is the reward of patience, which, for Shākh-i Nabāt, they gave."

This legend about Hafiz may be viewed not as a record of what actually happened but may be considered to indicate

[1] Name of a prophet, who, according to tradition, discovered and drank of the fountain of life, and in consequence he will not die till the last trumpet. It is believed that he is still to be seen in sacred places, such as Makkah. He is by some confounded with the prophet Elias.

that poetical talent was revealed to him by accident, which so often accounts for the origin of wonderful things in this world. Perhaps it was on account of this supernatural gift with which Hafiz was favoured, that the poet Jami and his other admirers gave him the epithet of *Lisānu'l Ghaib* (the Tongue of the Hidden) and *Tarjumānu'l Asrār* (the Interpreter of Mysteries).

Hafiz was educated in the common school of poverty, and went through the same discipline as other men of genius. In his youth he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Attār, a learned Sufi teacher in Shiraz. He followed the teachings of his preceptor by not giving himself up to a life of asceticism. He grasped the true philosophy of life by neglecting neither the body nor the mind. The physical world and the world of intellect were of equal importance to him. On account of this wise and wholesome teaching that he followed, it brought the wrath of other Sufis down upon him. Like Umar Khayyam, Hafiz found it difficult to keep silent against those Sufis, whom he considered to have dressed themselves in the garb of hypocrisy. The following few lines from his odes will indicate his abhorrence against them :—

(*a*) واعظان کین جلوه در محراب و منبر میکنند
چون بخلوت میروند آن کار دیگر میکنند
مشکلی دارم ز دانشمند مجلس باز پرس
توبه فرمایان چرا خود توبه کمتر میکنند

"The preachers who display (their piety) under the prayer-arch and on pulpits,
Do other work when they are in their lonely chamber.
"A difficulty, I have. Ask the wise ones of the assembly ;
Why those ordering penitence, themselves penitence seldom make."

(*b*) غلام همت دردی کشان یکرنگم
نه آن گروه که ازرق لباس و دل سیه اند

"I am the slave of dregs-drinkers who are dressed in one colour (*i.e.*, sincerity),
But not of those who are clad in blue,[1] while black is the colour of their heart."

(*c*) برو بميكده و چهره ارغواني كن
مرو بصومعه كانجا سياه كاران اند

"Go to the tavern and with wine make ruddy thy face;
Go not to the cloister for there are men full of dark deeds."

Hafiz never submitted to any strict monastic rule; when he assumed the Dervish's habit, he took care to temper his orthodoxy with free doctrines learnt from his teacher.

There are various periods in the life of Hafiz showing how he passed his days under the patronage of various princes and nobles.

His first patron was Shaikh Abu Ishāq,[2] Governor of Shiraz. He was a heedless and pleasure-loving ruler. Concerning his brief but genial reign Hafiz refers to it in one of his odes thus: —

راستي خاتم فيروزهٔ بو اسحاقی
خوش درخشيد ولي دولت مستعجل بود

"Indeed thou art like the turquoise ring of Abu Ishäq,[3]
Well it gleamed, but it was only a transitory prosperity."

Later on he says :—

ديدي آن قهقههٔ كبك خرامان حافظ
كه ز سر پنجهٔ شاهين قضا غافل بود

"O Hafiz! you saw how that strutting partridge (Abu Ishāq)
Was careless of the grip of the falcon of death."

1 Blue is generally the colour of the cloak put on by Sufis and Dervishes.

2 He was taken prisoner by Mubarizuddin Muhammad Muzaffar and executed outside Persepolis about A. D. 1357.

3 Abu Ishaq is the name of the turquoise-mine in Nishapur famous for its turquoises named after him. The mine was soon closed for want of proper working.

In his *qita'at*, he commemorates the chief ornaments of the king's court, *viz.*, Shaikh Imad-ud-din 'Azad-ud-Dowla, Shaikh Majd-ud-din, and Haji Qiwam-ud-din. It was this Qiwam-ud-din who founded a college where Hafiz used to teach Qur'anic exegesis, theology and philosophy.

His second patron was Mubariz-ud-din Muhammad, who ruled over Fars from 1353 to 1357 A. D. He was of a different type to his pleasure-loving predecessor. He was ascetic in character and no sooner he took possession of Shiraz than he caused all taverns to be closed. Hafiz refers to these stern days in several of his odes, one of which begins thus : —

بود آیا که در میکده‌ها بگشایند * گره از کار فرو بستهٔ ما بگشایند
در میخانه ببستند خدایا مپسند * که در خانهٔ تزویر و ریا بگشایند

"Will it be possible, that they will open the door of the tavern,
And will they untie the knot of difficulty from over entangled work ?

"They have closed the door of the tavern, O God ! approve of it not ;
For they will open (only) the door of deception and hypocrisy ! "

Shah Shuja, son of Mubariz-ud-din was a great admirer of Hafiz and lover of men of genius and learning. He was a liberal king and relaxed undue restrictions imposed by his father. The reopening of the tavern during his time is celebrated by Hafiz in the following *ghazal* of which three lines are quoted here :—

سحر ز هاتف غیبم رسید مژده بگوش
که دور شاه شجاع است می دلیر بنوش
بدانگ چنگ بگوئیم آن حکایت را
که از نهفتن آن دیگ سینه میزد جوش
رموز مملکت خویش خسروان دانند
گدای گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مخروش

"At early dawn glad tidings reached my ears from the
invisible messenger ;
It is the age of Shah Shuja, wine boldly drink.
"To twang of harp those tales we shall utter ;
From concealing which the caldron of our bosom boiled.
"Kings alone know the secrets of their kingdom ;
O Hafiz ! thou art a beggar recluse, clamour not."

In another sonnet he says :—

در عهد پادشاه خطا بخـــش جرم پوش
حافظ قرابه کش شد و مفتی پیـــاله نوش
دیشب ندا ز غیب بگـــوش دلم رسیـــد
حافظ تو غصه ٔم خور و بنشین و می بنوش

"During the reign of fault-forgiving and crime-concealing king,
Hafiz become a flagon-drinker and the *mufti* [1] a quaffer
of cups.
"Last night a voice from the Hidden reached the ear of
my heart ;
(Calling) O Hafiz ! fret less, sit quiet and drink wine."

Inspite of great favour shown to Hafiz by Shah Shuja, yet on one occasion the relation between them is said to have been strained. Hafiz expressed a scorn for Imad-i-Faqih, who was one of his contemporaries, and was a poet and jurisconsult, whom the king highly favoured and respected. This learned doctor is said to have trained his cat to follow him in his prayer, which achievement was considered by the king almost a miracle. But Hafiz thought it to be a charlatan's trick, concerning which he said :—

صوفي نهـــاد دام و سر حقـــهٔ باز کرد
بنیـــاد مکر با فلـــک حقـــه باز کرد

[1] *Mufti*, the officer who expounds the law. He must be learned in the Qur'an and traditions.

ای کبک خوشخـــرام کجـــا میـــروی بناز
غره مشـــو که گـــربه عابد نمـــاز کرد

"The Sufi laid the snare and opened the box of jugglery ;
And began to play deception with the juggling sky,
"O graceful-moving partridge ! where goest thou so proud ;
Don't be deceived because the cat of the pious has said prayers.

This act of Hafiz displeased the king very much, and he lost no opportunity of criticising him and his poems on the ground that his odes have many-sided aspects and there is no one motive inspiring them. At one moment they are mystical, at another erotic ; now serious and spiritual and again shallow and worldly. "Your observations are true," said Hafiz, "yet inspite of all this, they enjoy a wide celebrity ; whereas those of others (meaning Imad) have not travelled beyond the gates of Shiraz." This annoyed the king still more, and he was waiting for an opportunity, when soon after he came across the following line in one of his poems which smacked of blasphemy.

گر مسلمـــانی از آنست که حافظ دارد
وای اگـــر از پس امـــروز بود فردائی

"If Islam be that which Hafiz confesseth ;
Alas if there should be a to-morrow (Resurrection) after to-day."

In this line, Hafiz doubts the truth of impending Day of Resurrection, which is against the tenets of Islam. Fortunately for the poet, he came to know of it, before they sat in judgment over this line and his faith. He, at the suggestion of one of his learned friends, added a line before it, putting it in the mouth of a Christian, on the principle that *the repetition of a blasphemy is not a blasphemy.* Hafiz prefixed the following line to the one cited above: —

این حدیثـــم چه خوش آمد که سحرگه میگفت
بر در میکـــدهٔ با دف و نی ترسائی

"How pleasent to me appeared these words, which
at early morn,
A Christian recited at the door of a tavern, with
tambourine and flute."

On being charged with heresy, he produced this line along with the other and said, he was not responsible for the opinion expressed by a Christian, and thus escaped punishment. Besides those mentioned above he had few more other patrons whose names occur in his odes.

From what has been said, it is evident that Hafiz used to write panegyric poems and enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy. But what distinguished him from other poets is this, that he never employed mean and despicable manners to squeeze out money from those whom he praised. If his panegyric failed, he never resorted to satire for extracting money.

Hafiz through his rare poetical genius soon gained unprecedented celebrity during his life time. His verses were appreciated not only by his countrymen but also by noble men abroad. About the year 1369 A. D. Hafiz was invited by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Purbi, ruler of Bengal, to visit his court. But no inducement was strong enough for Hafiz to make him leave Shiraz with its charming scenery and enchanting society.

It is said that King Ghiyas-ud-din was attacked by a troublesome disease which prostrated him to bed. Now in his *harem* were three beautiful maids, named Sarv (cypress), Gul (rose) and Lala (tulip), who were engaged in nursing the king. When the king recovered they washed his body and gave him the *ghusl-i-sihhat* (health-bath), with the usual ceremonies. The king thereupon bestowed much attention on these three maids and advanced them to dignity. A jealousy thus arose amongst the other attendants of the king who taunted them with being *ghassālas* (*i.e.* washers of the body). They revealed this fact to the king, who uttered to his great delight the hemistich, ساقي حديث سرو و گل و لاله ميرود "O cup-bearer! the tale

of the cypress, the rose and tulip goeth," but could not proceed further. He called his court poets and asked them to complete the line and compose an ode with it. They tried but failed. It was then suggested to send for Hafiz, whose fame had travelled far and wide. But Hafiz declined the offer as stated above. So this line was sent to him through Yāqūt, a favourite slave of the king, with a request to compose a *ghazal* putting the line by the king as the first line of the ode. When the message was delivered to Hafiz, he took the hemistich and composed the following ode of which four lines are given here, during the night and handed it over to the king's messenger next morning : —

ساقي حديث سـرو و گل و لاله ميرود
وين بحث با ثلاثهٔ غسـاله ميـرود
شكـر شكن شوند همه طوطيـان هند
زين قنـد پارسي كه به بنـگاله ميـرود
طي مكان به بين و زمان سلـوك شعـر
كين طفـل يک شبه ره يكساله ميـرود
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطـان غياث دين
خامش مشـو كه كار تو از ناله ميـرود

" O Saqi ! there is talk going on about Cypress, Rose and Tulip; And this talk is about the three washers (of the body).

" All the parrots (*i.e.*, poets) of India will have their mouth sweetened;
From this Persian candy (*i.e.*, my ode) which goes to Bengal.

" Look at the distance of place and time this verse has taken to travel;
It is a child of one night and it travels a distance of a year's journey.

" O Hafiz ! stop not of desire for the court of Sultan Ghiyasuddin, For thy desire will be accomplished by lamentation."

Sultan Muhammad Shah Bhamani, king of the Deccan, a liberal patron of poets, also sent an invitation to Hafiz with a large sum of money for his travelling expenses. Hafiz spent the amount partly in payment of his debts, and partly in helping a friend in financial trouble. Thus becoming once more penniless, he travelled to the port of Hurmuz with the help of two generous Persian merchants, where a ship sent by the Sultan to convey him to India was waiting. Hafiz had just embarked on the ship when a severe tempest rose and the sight of a surging sea so frightened the poet out of his wits that he caused himself to be re-landed and abandoned his intention of journey and returned to Shiraz and sent the king the following beautiful poem through the Persian merchants :—

دمی باغم بسر بردن جهان یکسر نمي ارزد
بمي بفروش دلق ما کزین خوشتر نمي ارزد
بس آسان مي نمود اول غم دریا به بوی سود
غلط گفتم که این طوفان بصد گوهر نمي ارزد
شکوه تاج سلطاني که بیم جان در او درج است
کلاه دلکش است اما بدرد سر نمي ارزد
برو گنج قناعت جو بکنج عافیت بنشین
که یکدم تنگدل بودن به بحر و بر نمي ارزد

" To pass a single moment of life in grief, a world together is not worth;
For wine, sell our rugged religious garment, for more than that it is not worth.
" At first, in hope of profit, easy appeared the toil of sea;
Nay, I am wrong ! for heaps of jewels this deluge is not worth.
" The pomp of imperial crown, which encompasses the fear of life;
Is a tempting headgear (indeed), but is not worth the headache;
" Go, seek the treasure of contentment, and retire to the nook of safety;
For all the sea and land are not worth a moment's anxiety."

Mir Fazlullah, one of the Persian merchants mentioned above, related the incident to the king. The king expressed his regret and said that it was due to his ill luck that he was deprived of the pleasure of seeing such a great poet. He sent a present of 1,000 gold coins along with many precious and valuable specimens of Indian art.

In passing I may draw attention to a point of comparison between Western and Eastern poetry. In the third line quoted above, Hafiz has expressed the same idea as the well-known English dramatist (Shakespeare) in his memorable line, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." But a contrast between the two artists will at once reveal that while Shakespeare makes a plain and clear statement of an observation, Hafiz derives a moral lesson from it; pointing out at the same time the weakness of human nature which is often attracted by outward appearances.

Some biographers narrate that Hafiz had a complimentary interview with Timur when he subjugated Fars in 1387. He summoned Hafiz, whose fame he had heard, and asked him sternly: "Art thou he who was so bold as to offer my two great cities Samarkand and Bokhara for the black mole on the cheek of thy mistress;" alluding to the line,

اگر آن ترک شیرازي بدست آرد دل ما را
بخال هندو یش بخشم سمرقنـد و بخارا را

"If that beauty of Shiraz captivates my heart;
For the black mole (on her cheek), I will give away Samarkand and Bokhara."

"Yes, O Sultan!," replied Hafiz, "and it is by such extravagant acts of generosity that I have brought myself to such a state of destitution."

Timur was so pleased at the ready wit displayed in this answer that he dismissed the poet with a handsome reward.

Now let us for a moment peep into the home life of Hafiz. We find him married and the father of two sons. From his verses we can gather he was a loving and devoted husband and an affectionate father. The great attachment he bore to his wife can be ascertained from the lines quoted below, when in a moment of displeasure she went to her father's place and Hafiz vainly tried to get her back. He in despair says : —

ما برفتیم و تو دانی و دل غم خور ما
بخت بد تا بکجا: می برد آبشخور ما
ز نثار مژه چون زلف تو در گیریم
قدمی کز تو سلامی برساند بر ما
بدعا آمده ام هم بدعا دست بر آر
که وفا با تو قرین باد و خدا یار و ما
بسرت گر همه عالم بسرم تیغ زنند
نتوان برد هوای تو برون از سر ما
زن باشد که بیاید بسلامت یارم
ای خوش آنروز که آید بسلامت بر ما

" We depart; thou knowest how to treat our sorrowful heart;
Let us see, where our ill-fortune taketh.

" From shedding pearls of tears, like thy (pearl adorned) locks,
we will bedeck
The feet of one, who bringeth greetings from thee,

" In prayer I have come : thou also raise thy hands in
prayer :
That fidelity be with thee, and God be our helper.

" By thy head, if all the world hit my head with the sword,
They will not be able to take away from my head thy desire.

" Soon will be the day, when my beloved will return to me with
safety,
O happy that day, when the beloved in safety returns to our
house."

Hafiz laments the departure of his wife in another ode also, the first line of which runs thus :—

آن ترک پریچهـــره که دوش از برما رفت
آیا چه خطـــا دید که از راه خطـــا رفت

" That beauty with a fairy face, who departed last night from my house ;
I don't know for what fault of mine she left by the way of Cathay."

Further down he gives vent to his extreme sorrow and lamentation and states : " Nobody is aware of the torrents of tears shed by me and the deluge of calamity passed over my head since she has gone out of my sight. My heart prompted that with lamentation and prayer it is possible to win her back; but alas! I have prayed a whole life yet she has not come." He goes on with his doleful narrations, till at last in despair he says : "yesterday when my physician saw me, he expressed his regret, and said, 'Alas! your illness has now passed beyond all remedy.' Besides the above odes there are many [1] which indicates his grief for his beloved wife, both during her lifetime and after her death.

Hafiz bewails the loss of his son in several places [2] and expresses his grief in a metaphorical language, saying :

بلبلی خون جگـــر خورد و گلی حاصل کرد
باد غیـــرت بصدش خار پریشـــان دل کرد

" A bulbul (Hafiz) drank the blood of his heart (in grief), and gained a rose (*i.e.* a son)
But the envious gale with a hundred thorns of envy pricked his heart."

(1) See Odes 90, 150, 155, 161, 187, 227, Board of Examiner's Edition, by Col. Jarrett.
(2) Ode 117 and Qit'as 596, 606, do. do. do.

Further down he says: "A parrot (*i.e.* Hafiz) in the desire of sugar [1] had a happy heart; but suddenly the flood of destruction swept away the picture of hope. The cool lustre of my eyes, the sweet fruit of my heart, departed nimbly and left me alone in the world of sorrow. O grief! O sorrow! that through the envious eyes of sun and moon, my beautiful eyebrowed moon (son) made his abode under the dust." [2]

It is also evident from his writings that Hafiz had a fond attachment for his native place and its picturesque scenery and surroundings; and as we have seen above, he did not choose to leave it inspite of tempting prizes offered to him. Once the people of Yezd pressingly requested him to visit their country. He accepted their invitation and when he went there he soon became despondent, gloomy, and ardently thinks of his native country, Shiraz, and in a most touching tone he thus says:—

بیاد یار و دیار آنچنان بگـــریم زار * که از جهان ره و رسم سفر بر اندازم
من از دیار حبیبم نه از دیار غریب * مهیمنا برفیقـــان خود رسان بازم

"In the memory of friends and the native land so bitterly I weep,
That I wish to brush away the name and custom of journey from the world.

"I am from the land of friends and not from the city of strangers;
O Divine protector! take me back to my friends."

His chief place of resort was Musalla, a beautiful meadow land two miles N. E. of Shiraz, situated on the bank of the stream called Ruknabad, always covered with beautiful flowers during the most part of the year. The loneliness and calmness of the place was so congenial to his contemplative mind that he remained there till the end of his life. Not only he eulogized Ruknabad and Musalla in most endearing and glorifying terms, but considered them to be more alluring

(1) It is proverbial that parrots are fond of sugar-cane.
(2) Also see *Qit'as*, 598 and 666, Board of Examiner's Edition.

and dignified than Paradise with all its embellishments. In this connection he says :—

بده ساقي مي باقي كه در جنت نخواهي يافت
كنـــار آب رکنـــا باد و گلگشـــت مصلی را

" Give, O cup-bearer, all that is left of wine, for thou will not get in the gardens of Eden,
The bank of Ruknabad and the flower bed of Musalla".

In another sonnet he sings their praise in the following terms :—" O Lord! preserve happy Shiraz and its peerless sites from decay : a hundred prayers be for our Ruknabac, whose limpid water gives eternal life to life itself. Between Ja'farabad and Musalla there blows a wind loaded with ambergris. Come to Shiraz and associate with its people if you desire to enjoy the favours and bounties of the holy spirit (Jibrail)." From the statements made above it appears that Hafiz loved his city of birth as dearly as Dante loved Florence.

It is a remarkable coincidence that Hafiz, after his death, was buried in the place which he loved so dearly during his lifetime, and the chronogram, *i. e.* the date of his death, is also obtained from the name of the same place. He was buried in the garden of Musalla, about two miles N. E. of Shiraz, on the bank of the river Ruknabad. On his tombstone the following ingenious chronogram is inscribed :—

چراغ اهل معنـــي خواجه حافظ * كه شمعـــي بود از نور تجلـــی
چو در خاک مصلی ساخت منزل * بجو تاریخش از " خاک مصلی"

" The lamp of spiritual men, Khwaja Hafiz,
Who was a candle from the glorious light (of God).

" As he made his resting place in the dust of Musalla,
So seek the date of his death from *Khak-i-Musalla*."

The numerical value of the words خاک مصلی gives the date 791 A. H. (A. D. 1388).

The shrine of Hafiz is situated in a beautiful garden, and after him it is called "Hafiziya." It is much frequented by people from all parts of Persia and is a place of recreation for the people of Shiraz. Like the historical mulberry tree in Christ College, Cambridge, planted by Milton, or the tree planted by Bacon in Grays Inn, there was the famous cypress tree planted by Hafiz, which casts its shadow over his eternal resting place.

We now pass on to his work. Hafiz has left a collection of his beautiful odes, the Diwan, which is the rarest gem in the realm of poetry. They were collected after his death by his devout friend and admirer Muhammad Gulandam in the form of a book. This Diwan besides *ghazals* contains other forms of poetry, viz., *masnavis*, *ruba'is* (quatrains) *qita'ats*, etc., which Hafiz composed after the fashion of his time. It is said by some of his biographers, as well as by Muhamed Gulandam, that Hafiz wrote marginal notes to "Tafsir-i-Kashshaf," a commentary of the Holy Qur'an by Zamakhshari, but no trace of it has yet been found anywhere.

There are two aspects in which we regard Hafiz—as a Poet and as a Philosopher (Sufi). In the former capacity he is undoubtedly of the first rank. Hafiz's Diwan is a fine combination of philosophy and sentiments of all descriptions. He possesses a rare gift of expressing his ideas vividly and clearly. He does not use farfetched metaphors and similes, and his simple, plain and idiomatic words have a charm of their own. Dowlat Shah, the famous biographer of Persian poets, says: "Hafiz, the king of the learned and the cream of the poets, was the wonder of his time." Sudi, the Bosnian, who wrote in Turkish a great commentary on the odes of Hafiz towards the 17th century, was simply carried away by the enchanting beauty of his verses. He exclaimed that they were Divine and "derived their innate beauty in the water of life, and in beauty they equalled the dark-eyed Houries of

Paradise." Hafiz is original throughout and acknowledges no authority but nature. He scorns the use of any art, but the Art to conceal art. If there are any defects, they are his own; if there are beauties he himself is the painter. So rare a genius few countries have ever produced. His verses are rich in fancy and powerful in imagination. He chiefly sings of springs, rose, nightingale, wine, youth and beauty; and therefore sometimes the superficial critic has charged his verses with sensuality. He is a mystic poet, and his language is generally allegorical. Without a knowledge of Sufism and its idioms and metaphors, the esoteric meaning of Hafiz's poetry cannot readily be perceived. The language of the *Diwan*, as understood by outward form, gave rise to the difficulty whether it was orthodox enough to be read by the public. The matter was referred to the great Sufi Abu Su'ud, the chief Mufti of the time, who decided in favour of the *Diwan*. He gave his opinion to the effect that every one was at liberty to use his own judgment in the manner of the meaning to be assigned to the poems of Hafiz.

The nature of Hafiz's poems has been the subject of much discussion in the West. Some scholars, being entirely ignorant of mystical technicalities, consider his amatorial utterance as nothing but sensuality and materialism; while others, following the Oriental school, maintain that thay are entirely mystic and philosophical. Something between the two would probably be near the truth.

The powerful eloquence, the music of his songs, the captivating influence of his expressions always enrapture the minds of the readers of his poems. The spirit of youth, love and joy, and his delight in nature and mystical life pervade all through his poems, when he says: "My beloved is gone, and I had not bidden her farewell!" These words are quite as touching even now as they were centuries ago. Equally simple and pathetic is his sorrows for the departure of his beloved: "O friends! the solacer of my life departs, for God's

sake, tell me, how shall the wound of my heart heal, for the remedy is with her."

دلبـــرم عزم سفـــر کـــرد خدا را حافظ
چه کنم با دل مجـــروح که مرهم با اوست

A more passionate image of love you would not find even in the sweet songs of the Swan of Avon than: "Open my grave when I am dead, and thou shalt see a cloud of smoke rising from out of it; then shalt thou know the fire still burns in my dead heart—yea, it has set my very winding-sheet alight;"

بگشای تربتم را بعد از وفات و بنگر * کز آتش درونم دود از کفن بر آید

Or, "If the scent of her hair were to blow across my dust when I have been dead a hundred years, my mouldering bones would rise and come dancing out of the tomb." Speaking of love Hafiz says: "I have estimated the influence of Reason upon Love, and found that it is like a raindrop upon the ocean, which makes one little mark upon the surface of the water and disappears." These and other similar thoughts are immortal utterances which time cannot dim or rust, and truly interpret the language of the heart.

Yet another feature of Hafiz's Diwan deserves mention. In the same manner as *Virgil* was employed by the Christians in the middle ages for divination, the poems of Hafiz is consulted as a guide to future action. In the memoirs of Sher Khan Lodi it is related that the ecclesiastical authorities and enemies of Hafiz declared him to be a heretic and dissolute in life, and so the question arose whether he should receive the Muslim rites of burial. After some debate they consulted his poems, as they are even now consulted in the East, at random, and found the following verse, which settled all their doubts respecting his faith:

قدم دریـــغ مدار از جنـــازهٔ حافـــظ
که گرچه غرق گناه است میـــرود به بهشت

"Withhold not thy steps from the bier of Hafiz, for though immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise."

Shah Tahmasp, one day while playing with a ring, which he valued very much, dropped it, and inspite of diligent search was not able to find it. An augury being taken from Hafiz the following line was found :—

دلی که غیب نمـــایست و جام جم دارد
ز خاتمـــی که دمی گم شود چه غم دارد

"A heart which mirrors the unseen and possesses the Jamshed cup, what cares he for a ring which is mislaid for a moment." The king clapped his hands on his knees in admiration of the appropriateness of the verse, and immediately felt the ring in the folds of his robe into which it had accidentally dropped.

Several men of action were in the habit of consulting Hafiz on questions that they could not solve. Aurangzib was one of them. Indeed Nadir Shah never undertook an expedition without consulting it.

Anecdotes of such inquiries may be multiplied, but the abovementioned instances are sufficient to give an idea of this practice which still prevails among the Persians.

## *Hafiz as a Philosopher.*

As a philosopher, Hafiz was an Intuitionist. He believed in one Eternal God whom the whole world reveres in one form or other, and regarded God as the only Absolute Existence. His philosophy taught that every soul before being incarnated in some human body, was an actual part or portion of God, and was, until incarnation, in union with God ; that on being transplanted to and confined in human body, it was in a lamentable state of separation and never knew true happiness until it was released from the body and reunited with God.

میـــزنم هر نفس از دست فراقت فریاد
آه اگـــر نالهٔ زارم نـــرساننـــد بتـــو باد
روز و شب غصه و غم میخورم و چون نخورم
چون ز دیدار تو دورم بچه باشم دلشـــاد

"Every moment I bewail my separation from Thee;
Alas! if the breeze bears not to Thee my lamentation.
"Day and night I suffer grief and anguish; how could I not suffer?
Since I am far from Thy sight, how can my heart be joyful?"

He like the sect of *Jabriya* (the "Necessitarians") believed in the theory of Predestination and asserted that all actions of men are subject to the power of God. Being created by Him, they have no influence at all on that which they are empowered to do; but both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God. This idea abounds in his poetry, and I give below a few instances of the same:—

(*a*) درکوی نیـــک نامي ما را گذر ندادند
گر تو نمي پسنـــدي تغییـــر ده قضا را

"In the street of rectitude they gave us no admission;
If thou approve not, go and change thy Fate."

(*b*) نصیب من چو خرابات کرده است اله
درین میـــانه بگـــو زاهدا مرا چه گنـــاه

"Since Allah made tavern my portion;
Say, O Zahid! how can I then be blamed."

(*c*) رضا بداده بده وز جبین گره بگشـــای
که بر من و تو در اختیـــار نگشـــاد ست

"Give contentment to that given (by God); remove frown from thy forehead,
For the door of choice is neither open to me nor to thee"

Hafiz, like Socrates, Farabi, Avicenna, Umar Khayyam and others, entertained the belief that it is not in the power of any man to know what is God and what the secret of His essence is and to comprehend the object of His creation. He thus in one of his odes says :—

"O pretentious *Zahid*! go; for the mystery hidden behind the veil will ever remain hidden to my or to thine eyes."

برو ای زاهد خود بین که ز چشم من و تو
راز این پرده نهان است و نهان خواهد بود

In another place he writes :—

"You can never know a single point from the secret of His existence,
Though you may roam all over the world in search of it."

نشـــوي واقف یک نکتـــه ز اسرار وجود
گر تو سر گشتـــه شوی دایرهٔ امکان را

Hafiz, being greatly disappointed after much deliberation and search to know the secrêt of God, in despair says :—"A trace of that Heart-ravisher I trace with none : it may be either that I have no news of Him or He has no trace at all."

با هیچ کس نشاني ز ان دلستـــان ندیدم
یا من خبـــر ندارم یا از نشـــان ندارد

Hafiz's social ethics is based upon a very noble principle of morality. He has got a soft heart, which is full of sympathy for all. He says :—

مباش در پی آزار و هر چه خواهي باش
که در شریعت ما غیر ازین گناهي نیست

"Be not in pursuit of injury, and do whatever else thou desirest ; for in our *Shari'at* (religion) there is no other sin than this."

He advises his friends and teaches them the moral lesson as to how to acquire true and unmixed happiness in life.

آسایش دو گیتي تفسیر این دو حرف است
با دوستـــان مروت با دشمنـــان مدارا
هنگام تنگ دستي در عیش کوش و مستي
کین کیمیای هستـــي قارون کنـــد گدارا

"The pleasures of the two worlds are explained by these two words,
Be humane to friends and be generous to enemies.
"In time of distress, strive in pleasure and merriment,
For this elixir of existence maketh a beggar (rich as) Korah."

He believed that God created man after His own image and gave him the highest position in his creation. A man by devotion and purity of soul can surpass the angels. He has graphically expressed this idea in the following lines :—

در ازل پرتو حسنـــت ز تجلـــي دم زد
عشـــق پیدا شد و آتش بهمـــه عالم زد
جلوهٔ کرد رخت دید ملـک عشق نداشت
عین آتش شد ازین غیـــرت و بر آدم زد
نظري کرد که بیند بجهـــان صورت خویش
خیمه در آب و گـــل مـــزرعهٔ آدم زد

"In eternity without beginning the light of Thy beauty shone forth ;
Love thus came into existence, and set the whole world in fire.
"Thy face displayed splendour, and beheld that angels had no (capacity for) love ;
From (feeling) of contempt, it became fire and dashed it on Adam.

"He cast a glance to behold His own image in the world,
On the water and clay of Adam, He pitched His tent."

It is clear from Hafiz's writings that he was a perfect Sufi and a religious enthusiast of a pronounced type. He considered this material world and the life in it as a passing show.

He vividly describes this idea in one of his beautiful sonnets, wherein he says: "I am the slave of that determined one, who beneath the azure vault is free from whatever taketh the colour of attachment. O falcon of lofty vision! sitting on *Sidra* (a tree in Paradise in the seventh heaven), thou shouldst know that this world which is full of woe is not the place for thy nest; for (heaven's) shrill voice calls thee from the pinnacle of *'Arsh* (the throne of God); I don't know what maketh thee stay in this place full of snares. I offer thee one advice, which I got from my preceptor, listen and act on it; *viz.*, Don't expect fulfilment of promise from this wavering world, for this old shrew is a bride of thousand lovers."

غلام همت آنم که زیر چرخ کبود
ز هر چه رنگ تعلق پذیرد آزادست
که ای بلند نظر شاه باز سدره نشین
نشیمن تو نه این کنج محنت آبادست
ترا ز کنگرهٔ عرش میزنند صفیر
ندانمت که درین خاکدان چه افتادست
نصیحتی کنمت یادگیر و در عمل آر
که این حدیث ز پیر طریقتم یادست
مجو درستی عهد از جهان سست نهاد
که این عجوزه عروس هزار دامادست

By way of conclusion it may be remarked that considering the overpoweringly musical nature of the Persian language and the hidden wealth of all its sweet and graceful terms of speech, it is therefore all the more remarkable that no other lyrical poet

has appeared in the realm of Persian poetry since the days of Khwaja Hafiz, who might question the supremacy of his position over the whole expanse of Persian poetry, and this is so, though so many centuries have passed since the death of Hafiz. In fact one can scarcely find a Persian poet who may conscientiously be classed as second to Hafiz, not to speak of equalling him. As a matter of fact the sweetness of Hafiz's lays has been eclipsed only by the beauty of his language and the sparkling vision of life of all kinds that he discloses. Hafiz was a poet of the people for the people and is therefore admired to this day by the people of the whole land of Persia—above every other poet of Persia—who came before and after the said Hafiz of Shiraz.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI.

# IS THERE LIFE UPON THE MOON?

Most astronomers study the sun, stars, nebulæ and planets. Only a few keep their telescopes turned almost exclusively upon the moon. Among the latter is Wm. H. Pickering, sixth great grandson of Timothy Pickering, first Secretary of State under George Washington, and Professor Emeritus of Harvard University. When I visited Professor Pickering recently I was surprised to find that for thirty years he has watched the earth's satellite like a lover—first at Harvard College Observatory in Cambridge, Mass., then in Arequipa, Peru, next in Southern California, and now in Mandeville, Jamaica, B. W. I.

Professor Pickering discovered Phœbe, a satellite of Saturn, and later Themis, another Saturnian satellite, but neither of these events was as amazing to the world at large as the claim he has put forth for the moon. This orb is not to him, "a ruined world, a globe burnt out, a corpse upon the road of night." He believes there is vegetation on the moon, perhaps animal life. "I am convinced there are fields of vegetation upon the moon," he says. "I have watched them spring up, grow and die through the lunar season. Whether or not there is minute animal life on the moon is a matter of speculation, but there is some evidence in favor of it."

The arguments of those who oppose this theory are numerous. It is hard for orthodox beliefs to give way to new revelations. One important claim against the existence of life on the moon is that there is not enough water on the moon for vegetation. Another is that the atmosphere is too rare. Responding to these, Professor Pickering reminds us:—

"If you take carbon dioxide gas and condense it by a pump, it forms a liquid. If you then let it escape freely into the air the evaporation is so rapid that it freezes and has the appearance

of snow. In a room of ordinary temperature, this snow will last for several minutes. On the moon, where there is a very rare atmosphere and only an infinitesimal circulation, a large area of snow too, three or four miles in diameter will last for days. Sometimes during the first few days after sunrise the snow will remain invisible, but as the sun rises higher it seems to warm the surface which permits the moisture under the surface to escape, and, in escaping, to freeze.

"Water on the surface of the moon would undoubtedly evaporate at once, but by coming up slowly through the ground the vegetation would get hold of it, but the water must disappear constantly from the surface. If a cube of water 1,000 feet on a side had escaped from the moon every month since the moon was created, only half the water in the moon would have escaped at the present time, assuming that the moon had as much water in proportion to its mass as the earth had, originally.

"The temperature point of 212° Fahrenheit is usually thought of as fixed because it happens to be the temperature at which water boils at sea level. However, there is no reason why, if high forms of animal and vegetable life like man and palms, can withstand 160° on earth, a higher form like lichens might not withstand a still higher temperature. Any vegetable life, as well as animal life, on the moon, would have to be adapted naturally to a higher temperature than on earth. There is no connection whatever between the vegetation on the moon and earth. They would have evolved entirely separately. Vegetation is not found on the moon at the poles. It reaches in general to about Lat. 50° north and south. The polar regions of the moon are too cold for it. What vegetation there is is adapted only to the high temperature near the equator of the moon."

The evidences of this vegetation are described as "spots", particularly visible in the crater of Eratosthenes, which darkens as the sun rises higher on the moon. If they were shadows, the astronomer claims, they would be dark when the sun is low and would, of course, disappear at full moon when the sun is

overhead. However, they do just the reverse. They do not disappear, but form when the sun is overhead on the moon.

"The only explanation that I can think of," the Professor offers, "is that these markings are due to vegetation. They are the same at the same age of the moon, or so nearly the same that while I sometimes suspect a difference, I can scarcely perceive it. With a more powerful instrument than the one I have" (an 11" refracting telescope mounted on a pier) "I am positive the details would differ. If it is not vegetation, it is something that looks extremely like it. It is something that developes when the sun shines on it, and fades when the sun sets."

Night after night, while the rest of us sleep, Professor Pickering makes drawings of these shadows on the moon. His picturesque "office" near the observatory contains hundreds of them, and these are constantly being increased. Once when I asked him what I thought a rather foolish question about the "color" of this vegetation, he answered, "It is not green. It is either gray like sage brush or it is black like the earth's linchens. The only 'greenish' spot on the moon is the floor of the crater Grimaldi, but the color is not pronounced."

This emboldened me to draw forth an expression of opinion as to what the nature of the animal life on the moon might be. His response was very interesting, indeed.

"If you insist upon my trying to explain the reasons for my belief that there may even be animal life on the moon, let me say that in the crater, Eratosthenes, I have noted that small plats or strips, darker than the vegetable areas, move across the surface. A typical vegetable area varies from 10 to 50 miles square. The darker, moving areas are smaller. The largest I have noted is 10 miles long by 500 feet wide. If you saw dark objects moving across a hillside, you wouldn't think them trees or shrubbery."

"Do you believe that these moving plats are animals?" I asked.

"I will not say so emphatically, but here "—he consulted a sheaf of beautifully-detailed drawings—" are drawings made at every stage of the lunar day, over a period of several years. The strip moves measurably from night to night, in the same direction. One plat moved three miles to the north, and coalesced with another plat. Another moved more than two miles to the northwest in less than two days—a speed averaging more than three and one half feet a minute. If the dark plats are masses of animals, the animals must be minute. Large creatures would travel faster and require greater feeding areas. In South Africa, swarms of locusts 50 miles long by ten miles wide have been seen to darken the sun by their flight. When they alight, they darken the ground, and sometimes spend weeks crossing fields of vegetation as they feed. Lunar insects may be entirely different from any creature we know, but there are several species of terrestrial animals that migrate periodically in search of food or to breed. To explain we must speculate, but of the facts themselves there can be no doubt."

According to Professor Pickering, anyone who will take the time and trouble to watch the moon through a telescope can see these changes occur from night to night. He admits that all explanations appear impossible to most astronomers, but encourages us to try to solve the riddle.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

# ART

A child playing with its toys never troubles itself about the utility of its toys or the ultimate purpose that playing a certain game may serve. This is exactly the attitude of an artist to life. Sufficient is it to him that a thing is there to play with,—life with all its sights and sounds, tears and smiles, hopes and fears, love and hate, right and wrong, the sublime and the ridiculous. The artist juggles with these. His is a divine game. In this he imitates God himself: He gives himself up to the absolute joy of creation itself. We may say of the artist, as Francis Thomson said of Shelley,—the Universe is his box of toys.

It is profanity to speak of a purpose in a work of art. The whole justification for the existence of a work of art must be that it is, not that it does or it says.

A perfect work of art will be as amazing as a piece of life. The why of it or the whence of it is nobody's concern.

Seeking a purpose in art is intellectual materialism. To the common materialist nothing exists but for some use. The purpose-seeker in art cannot look at or create anything but for some profit of thought, knowledge, or even of some conscious ideal. He is a spiritual or intellectual profit-seeker, but a profit-seeker none the less.

It is impossible to analyse and understand why a piece of art appeals. We could as well try to understand why a country-cart laden with golden hay, topping a rise far off, under a bright sun, makes us stand and gaze. Do we like it because hay is such a vital food for cattle? Do we keep looking at it because it offers employment to the cart-man? Do we like it because it brings money to the peasant?

Are the clouds in the sky not beautiful even as they are—drifting along aimlessly, who knows whither and whence?

Would you want them to form themselves into health slogans for you to like them more?

At the same time it would be fanatical to propose that a work of art should never indicate a lesson or set forth an ideal, if the lesson or the ideal is spontaneous to the thing created. We can only say that no artist worth his name should ever *deliberately* or *consciously* use his art as a vehicle to carry his conclusions on life and eternity.

Logic and reason are the gift of philosophers and thinkers, and do not necessarily belong to the artist. Instinct and perception are his dower, and expression is his joy.

There is essentially little difference between "Realistic" art and "Romantic" art. In the latter, the material that life offers is taken, and is transformed and re-arranged by the artist, with the tool of his imagination. In the latter there is an implication that what life offers is good enough as it is. In either case there is no going away from life. A piece of silk remains a piece of silk whether you wear it after stitching it into a cloak or merely wrap it round your body as it is. The woof and warp are the same.

His fine perception enables the artist to see light where others see darkness, a cosmos where others see only a speck of dust, and laughter and tears where others see only the drab commonplace.

R. K. KUNJAPPA

# THE JAINA ACCOUNT OF DRAUPADI'S MARRIAGE AND LATER LIFE

The Mahabharatan story of Draupadī's marriage with the five Pāṇḍava brothers appears also in the literature of the Jainas and the Buddhists in somewhat modified and considerably distorted form. The Buddhist version as it appears in the Kuṇāla Jātaka (No. 536 in Fausboll's edition) gives Draupadī a very nasty character. She is called here by the name of Kṛṣṇā (Kaṇhā in Pali). I shall confine myself here to the Jaina account which occurs in the sixteenth *ajjhayaṇa* of the first *sūyakkhaṃdha* of the *Ṇāyādhammakahā*, the sixth *aṅga* of the Svetambara Jainas. The story is related here in long-drawn Ardha-Magadhi compounds—the usual verbose style of the descriptive and narrative portions of the Jaina Āgama; I shall considerably condense the account and present only the facts, leaving out ornamental appendages. It will be found that the story is naïve, matter-of-fact, and illustrative of social life of the age. It seems to me a pity that the sixth *aṅga*, as well as some other works of the Jaina Canonical Literature have not yet been translated into any European language or the wealth of details on conditions of social life contained in them utilised by students of the social history of ancient India.

Like the Buddhist Jātakas these Jaina stories also go into events of previous lives in describing an incident. For the sake of convenience I shall arrange the story under three births: Draupadī's marriage occurs in the last part and the first two are introduced in the original account to explain how and why that incident came to take place.

*First Birth—How a Housewife caused the death of a monk.*

In the city of Champa lived three Brahman brothers named Soma, Somadatta, and Somabhūti and their wives were respectively of the names of Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī and Yakṣaśrī. The three women were good-looking and beloved of their husbands. The brothers were friendly with one another and once as they sat chatting together they decided that as they were well off and free from worldly worries they would all have their meals in each other's house, by turn.

Now, once it was Nāgaśrī's turn to entertain the other two brothers and their wives. She prepared many kinds of victuals and cooked a big gourd with many flavouring ingredients (*bahusaṃbhārasaṃjuttaṃ*) and much oil. She took a drop of the gourd curry on the palm of her hand and on tasting found it to be extremely untasteful and uneatable. She moaned long over it and thinking that if her sisters-in-law came to know of her spoiling a curry they would ridicule her, she put it away and cooked another. The three brothers had their meal and then went about their work. When the wives also had finished eating, the other two returned to their respective homes.

At that time the nun Dharmaghoṣā, came to Champa. She had a disciple named Dharmaruci; this monk went to beg alms in the city and came to Nāgaśrī's house. Nāgaśrī remembered of the gourd curry she had put away, brought it out, and gave away the whole of it to the monk. The monk returned with the alm and according to rules of the Order showed it to his Superior, the Eldress Dharmaghoṣā. The nun was affected by the smell of the curry, tasted a bit of it, and knew it to be uneatable. She asked the monk not to eat it but to discard it in a place free from life (*accitte thaṃḍile, i.e.*, in a place where there are no insects or animals to be injuriously affected by it). Dharmaruci did as he was told but found

that drawn by the smell of the curry ants came, ate it, and died immediately afterwards. The monk felt troubled at the prospect of many thousands of ants losing their life by eating the curry; "It is better that I should eat it up all and die," he thought; he ate it and overcome with severe pains, lost his life. When the monk did not return for long, the nun assembled her disciples and ordered a search to be made. The ascetics going about on search came upon the corpse of Dharmaruci and informed the Eldress who thereupon narrated the circumstances of his death and blamed Nāgaśrī for her sinful gift. The news spread from the monks to the public and at last reached the ears of the Brahman brothers who scolded Nāgaśrī, struck her and drove her out of the house. Driven out from everywhere she wandered about the streets in rags, lived in a wretched state, and at last, afflicted with many diseases, she died and went round a cycle of many births and deaths in different hells and among various animals of the lower order.

*Second Birth— How a nun formed a desire for sensual pleasure.*

She was next reborn in the city of Champa as the daughter of a merchant named Sāgaradatta. As she had a skin as delicate as an elephant's palate, she was called Sukumārikā. She grew up to be a very pretty young girl. In the same city lived another merchant named Jinadatta who had a son of the name of Sāgara. Once while Jinadatta was passing by the road he saw Sukumārikā playing on the roof of her house with a ball; he was struck with her beauty and made enquiries about her parents, etc. Then he called on Sāgaradatta and begged for the hands of Sukumārikā in marriage with his son Sāgara. Sāgaradatta said in reply that as she was his only daughter from whom he could not bear to be separated even for a moment, he could agree to the proposal only if Sāgara became his "son-in-law of the house" (*gharajāmāue*). Jinadatta returned home and told his son Sāgara

of everything and the latter kept silent. Then on an auspicious day, accompained by friends and relations Jinadatta took his son to Sāgaradatta's house and married him to Sukumārikā.

To Sāgara the touch of his bride's hands seemed like the edge of a sword, a razor, or other sharp instruments. When the groom's party left after having been lavishly entertained by the bride's father, Sāgara entered the bridal chamber with his bride and lay down on the bed with her and the touch of her body seemed to him stinging as before; after a while as she fell asleep Sāgara went and lay down on his own bed but soon after she awoke and not finding him beside herself went to the other bed and lay down by his side. Sāgara again felt the sharp touch of her body and when she fell asleep he got up, opened the doors of the bridal chamber and ran away to his own house "like one released from the clutches of Death." Next morning the bride's mother got up and ordered servants to take mouth-toilet (*mukhasohaṇiyaṃ*) for the bride and groom. The servant went and found Sukumārikā seated in a pensive mood and on questioning her she said "Gone is Sāgara, opening the door, as I was asleep." The servant reported the matter to her father who went in wrath to Jinadatta's house and demanded if it was fair, just and proper for Sāgara to have left his daughter in that manner. Jinadatta went into the house and requested Sāgara to go back to his father-in-law's house but Sāgara replied that he would rather die than go there. Sāgaradatta was informed of this; he returned home ashamed and calling his daughter seated her on his lap, comforted her, and promised to find her a husband who would love her.

Once as Sāgaradatta was seated on the roof of his house he saw in the street below a very wretched beggar. He asked his servants to tempt the beggar into the house with promises of a rich meal. This was done and the beggar was fed, washed, dressed, toileted, and adorned; then he was married to Sukumārikā, but he also felt the touch of her body to be sharp, stinging and unbearable, and ran away as Sāgara had done. Sukumārikā

again sat meditating pensively and learning of what had happened, her father came to her and comforted her by asking her to engage and enjoy herself in the kitchen.

At that time an nun named Gopālikā came to the city. Sukumārikā paid a visit to her and enquired if the Eldress who was so wise and much travelled, could give her some philtre or charm whereby she could regain her husband's affection. The nun replied that it was sinful for her, a nun as she was, even to hear of such things. Then in the long run, Sukumārikā renounced the world and became a nun under Gopālikā. Once Sukumārikā asked permission of Gopālikā to go outside the city and practise penances alone. Gopālikā refused permission as it was not proper, she said, for nuns to go to out-of-the-way places but that they should live in a well protected nunnery. Sukumārikā disobeyed her superior and went alone to the park called Subhūmibhāga outside the city.

Now, in the city of Champa there was a club (*goṭṭhī*) called the *Lalitā* which was granted licenses by the king, [*naravaidiṇṇapayārā,—nṛpānujñātakāmacārā*, as explained by the commentator Abhayadeva], free from the control of parents and relations [*ammāpiiniyayanippivāsā, — mātrādinirapekṣā* (Comm).], having its meeting place in the house of courtesans [*vesavihārakayanikeyā,—veśyāmandireṣu kṛto nivāso yayā sā* (Comm.)], given to many kinds of dissipation (*nāṇāvihaaviṇayappahāṇā*), and possessing large funds. There was in this city, also a very beautiful and accomplished courtesan named Devadattā. At this time five members of this club (*goṭṭhillagapurisā*) were sporting in this park where Sukumārikā went, with the courtesan Devadattā—one of them clasped Devadattā on his bosom, the second held an umbrella on her from behind, the third put flowers in her hair, the fourth painted her feet, and the fifth waved a yak-tail fan on her. At the sight of the courtesan enjoying these pleasures with the five men Sukumārikā, the nun, thought to herself. "How happy are these women! If penances have any reward, I wish I would enjoy

such pleasures in my next birth!" Since that time she became particularly attentive to her person and constantly washed herself and the places she sat or lay down upon. She was reproved by her Superior for paying such attentions to her person, a nun as she was, and her sister nuns frequently forbade her but she did not care. "So long as I was in my home I was free, but having renounced the world I am under the control of others! Formerly these nuns treated me respectfully but now they scold me!" she thought. Going on in this way, she died after some time, went to heaven (in reward of her nunhood), and lived there for long as a courtesan of the gods.

*Third Birth—Draupadī marries Five Brothers.*

Then she was born in the country of Pāncāla, in the city of Kampillapura as the daughter of King Drupada and was given the name of Draupadī. When Draupadī was grown up, the ladies of the harem dressed and decked her out one day and sent her to salute her father. King Drupada was pleased with her beauty and seating her on his lap said, "If I give you to any prince or king you may be his favourite or unfavourite, and that would be a life-long worry to me. I would rather hold at once a *svayamvara* for you so that you may choose for yourself the prince or king who is to be your husband." Drupada sent envoys to Krṣṇa the Vāsudeva at Dwaraka, to king Pāṇḍu and his sons Yudhiṣṭhira and others, to Gāṅgeya, Vidura, Droṇa, Jayadratha, Śakunī, and all other princes of other kingdoms, requesting them to attend the *svayamvara*.

The princes invited came to Pāñcāla in great state. By Drupada's orders a big hall was erected with many pillars, outside the city on the banks of the Ganges, and dwellings were built for the royal guests. Drupada went out from his city to receive the princes who arrived and took up their allotted residences; a liberal supply was ordered of victuals, wines and liquors, meat, flowers and garlands, dance and music for their

entertainment. In the afternoon Drupada sent invitations again to the princes to attend the *svayamvara* and occupy seats marked with the name of each prince. Next morning the princes assembled in the hall. Draupadī entered the chapel (*jiṇaghāra*), saluted the image (*jiṇapadimā*), and she was toileted, dressed, and decked out by ladies of the harem. Her brother drove her in a chariot to the *svayamvara* hall, accompanied by her attendants. On entering the hall she saluted the princes collectively and took a great garland in her hands. One of her attendants took a shining mirror in her left hand and with the right pointed out to Draupadī the image, in the mirror, of each of the assembled princes describing at the same time the lineage, wealth, prowess and beauty of each prince, and asked her to choose whomsoever her heart desired. Draupadī, *impelled by her former desire*, went past all the other princes and encircling the five Pāṇḍava brothers with her garland, said "I choose these five Pāṇḍavas." Kṛṣṇa and the other princes praised her choice and the assembly broke up. Then Drupada married his daughter to the five brothers, gave her large gifts, entertained all the princes and thus the ceremony came to an end. While returning to his own country Pāṇḍu invited the other princes to his city, entertained them very hospitably and then the princes returned each to his own city.

The account then goes on to narrate other incidents and adventures in the life of Draupadī, the Pāṇḍava brothers, Kṛṣṇa, etc., which are interesting as they introduce events unknown to the Mahabharata, depict the different characters in a quaint human manner, and take the bottom out of Kṛṣṇa's claim to divinity. The tale is as follows in its main outlines.

The sage Nārada once came to Hastināpura, the city of Paṇḍu. He was welcomed by Paṇḍu, Kuntī and their sons but Draupadi did not greet him as she considered him to be unworthy, for Narada was fond of quarrels, strifes and noise *kalahajuddhakolāhalappiye*) and always on the loo-kout for scenes (*bhamdaṇābhilāsī*). Nārada thought she slighted him because

she was vain of her beauty and he decided to make her an unfavourite. Nārada thereupon went to the city of Amarakaṃkā where reigned king Padmanābha who had seven hundred wives. The king welcomed Nārada and asked if Nārada had ever seen in all his wanderings a harem as grand as his. Nārada spoke highly of Padmanābha's harem, described Pāṇḍu's household and eulogised Draupadī's beauty; then he vanished from there. Obsessed with thoughts of Draupadī's beauty Padmanābha retired to his sanctum and called up a god, a former friend of his. The god transported Draupadī who was asleep on the roof with Yudhiṣṭhira, through the air, to Padmanābha's garden. On awaking, Draupadī was dejected to find herself in strange surroundings but Padmanābha came to her, told her of everything and requested her to live with him. She agreed to do so if her uncle Kṛsna did not come in search of her within six months. Padmanābha put her in his harem and she practised penances.

As Draupadī was missing, Pāṇḍu announced a reward for any news of her. As no news was forthcoming he asked Kuntī to go to Dwaraka and request Kṛṣṇa to undertake the search for Draupadī. Kuntī went to Dwaraka; Kṛṣṇa promised her to search heaven and earth for Draupadi and made an announcement for news of her. At this time Nārada happened to visit Dwaraka and on Kṛṣṇa's asking if he had heard aught of Draupadī in his wanderings he replied that he had seen her in king Padmanābha's house. "This is your doing," said Kṛṣṇa and Nārada quickly disappeared from there. Then Kṛṣṇa sent messengers to Pāṇḍu asking the Pāṇḍava brothers to await him on the shores of the eastern sea and later he joined them with a vast army. While camping on the sea-shore Kṛṣṇa called up a friendly god of his and requested him to grant passage over the sea to six chariots. The god proposed to transport Draupadī back in the same manner as the other god had brought her, and throw into the sea Padmanābha and all his army, but as Kṛṣṇa wanted to go himself the god granted his prayer. Kṛṣṇa

and the five Pāṇḍavas crossed over the sea leaving behind their army and arrived in the park outside Amarakaṃkā. Kṛṣṇa sent his charioteer to Padmanābha demanding the return of Draupadī but the charioteer was insulted and turned out by the backdoor by Padmanābha. Thereupon the two parties met in battle. The Pāṇḍavas asked Kṛṣṇa to hold back and went forward to fight for themselves but they were ignominiously defeated and ran to Kṛṣṇa for help. Kṛṣṇa blew his conch and twanged his bow by which two-thirds of Padmanābha's forces were destroyed and Padmanābha ran for life into his city; then Kṛṣṇa assumed the form of a man-lion and kicked the earth whereby the walls and houses of Amarakaṃkā collapsed. Stricken with terror Padmanābha went to Draupadī and on her advice he surrendered to Kṛṣṇa; Kṛṣṇa forgave him and together with the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī set out homewards.

After crossing the sea Kṛṣṇa asked the others to go ahead and await him on the other bank of the Ganges as he would go and meet the god, his friend. The Pāṇḍavas went and crossed the Ganges in a boat; while doing so they argued among themselves whether Kṛṣṇa would be able to swim across the Ganges. In order to test his ability they hid the boat and awaited him When Kṛṣṇa came up he looked about for a boat and finding none seized his chariot together with the charioteer and the horses in one hand and with the other hand started to swim across the river. On reaching midstream he was exhausted and worn out and thought that the Pāṇḍavas must be very strong to have been able to swim across the wide Ganges and that it must have been wilfully that they ran away before Padmanābha. Knowing his thoughts the goddess Gaṅgā put him within his depth (*thāham vitarati*) and he rejoined the Pāṇḍavas. He told the others of his thoughts and they informed him of the little trick they wanted to play upon him. Kṛṣṇa blazed in fury—"When I crossed the wide sea, defeated Padmanābha and destroyed his city and rescued Draupadī you did not know my might—but now you shall know!" So saying he seized an iron-bar, smashed

into pieces the five chariots of the Pāṇḍavas and drove them away. This is known as the "miracle of smashing the chariots" (*rahamaddaṇe ṇāmaṃ koḍḍe niviṭṭhe*). Then Kṛṣṇa left for Dwaraka.

The Pāṇḍavas returned to their own city of Hastināpura and reported the matter to Pāṇḍu who rebuked them for displeasing Kṛṣṇa and asked Kuntī to go again to Dwaraka and enquire where the Pāṇḍavas were to go, now that Kṛṣṇa who was lord of the southern half of India had driven them away. When Kuntī went to him, Kṛṣṇa said that the Pāṇḍavas were to establish the town of Pāṇḍu and Mathura on the Southern seashore and live there out of his sight. Kuntī returned with this message and on Pāṇḍu's advice his five sons with Draupadī obeyed Kṛṣṇa's order. Draupadī gave birth to a son named Pāṇḍuṣena. The Pāṇḍavas left their kingdom to their son, became Jaina monks and went to the country of Surāṣṭra on a visit to the Tīrthaṃkara Ariṣṭanemi. They found that the Tīrthaṃkara had died a short time ago. Thereupon they climbed Mount Śatruñjaya and died observing a religious fast, as was usually the place and manner of the death of many other Jaina ascetics.

The principal motive of these Jaina tales is didactic. Through the whole of the narratives run illustrations of the consequences of good and bad deeds as for instance the sufferings of the Brahman housewife in this birth, in hells and among lower animals as also her being deserted by her husbands in a subsequent birth, all due to the sin of giving bad alms to a Jaina monk; her becoming a courtesan of the gods and marrying five men as a result of harbouring sensual thoughts as a nun; and her going to heaven after death and being reborn in a good family as rewards of practising penances. Details of penances and the routine of ascetical life are also interwoven with the narratives. Portraying of legendary heroes as worshippers of earlier mythical Tīrthaṃkaras has the obvious motive of making the Jaina doctrine and church appear to exist since the beginning of time—a theme very

favourite with Jaina writers. It will also be observed that three different stories have been linked together to form a connected, consecutive and consequential chain, involving an anachronism, for the third birth was the earliest event known as legend in currency to explain which incidents contemporaneous with the story-teller or slightly older but by all means of later-day experiences, have been passed off as being still more ancient. The distortion of the Mahabharatan Pāṇḍava legend appears to have the motive of making light of and having sly thrusts at legendary figures swollen into divine proportions by Brahmanical writers and thereby shake the self-complacent mood of the rival community. The sixth *aṅga* in the form we have it now is not a very ancient text; its contents as at present are wholly different from what it is stated to be in the tables of contents of older origin. The mention of images of the *jinas* is a significant indication of its later transformations—no matter what the original story-kernel might have been. Its style also is artificial and involved.

AMULYACHANDRA SEN.

## TO HOPE

1

I float and drift in the waters of life,
I hear thy voice sing to me :
"Arise, my darling,
The night of Bliss is coming."

2

I move and walk along the thorns of life,
I hear thy voice cry to me :
" Move on, my darling,
The end of troubles is coming."

3

I weep in the dullness of my own soul,
I hear thy voice pour to me :
" Sing on, my darling,
Life's music is coming."

N. N. C.

# THE SONNETS FROM THE PORTUGUESE

Sometimes there is a beautiful shamelessness in Literature, which has more dignity than all the grand reticence of Art. It has the simplicity and majesty of starkness. It is unrestrained, unwise, unblushing, and magnificent. It is rare in woman, whose life is built on caution, but when on those still sudden occasions, her volubility carries absolute expression, it is her undoing. It is the way of indiscretion, and in those rare moods, she treads the whole length of it unthinkingly. Then wisdom, compromise and half-measures are unsatisfactory. There is in it, something strong, because it is indifferent, and something hopelessly weak, because it is inevitable.

The modern world with its psychological and scientific preoccupations appreciates every genuine expression of nature, conscious or subconscious; but when the world received Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, Eliot's *the Mill on the Floss*, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, the impropriety of such self-exposure startled it out of its self-composure. The subjective element in literature was still in the doubted stage. It was unwomanly, hardly moral, and positively indecent. The nineteenth century significance of the word 'womanliness' owes a large part of its meaning to dull-headed Adam's misunderstanding of Eve in Paradise ; but the Victorian age had made it fashionable. Neither was the relative nature of morality and decency fully comprehended. Therefore when Elizabeth Barrett Browning handed over her extraordinary confession to the printer we turned Devil's Advocate and decidedly disapproved of it. However, a certain enthusiastic section eulogized it all the same.

The *Sonnets from the Portuguese* were published in 1850. They may not properly be designated a sonnet-sequence, because there is little progress of thought or sequence of ideas. The series represents a static psychology, suggestive of the

feminine preservative instinct. It is brooding, not analytic; wondering not arbitrating. The poems are uniquely beautiful not by the quality of Art, but by the quality of Truth. There is no exaltation but only the deep beauty of sincerity and pride unexpressed.

The whole of the poetess' sunless life looms behind them, her ill health, her loneliness, her desolation. Browning discovered her so, an invalid, heart-sick and brain-weary, protected from neurosis by Literature alone. It was one of those rare chances which are the poetry of life—

> "When first thine earnest eyes with mine were crossed
> And love called love."

The very manliness of him overwhelmed her. He filled her being out from end to end, with a fulness that left her bewildered. He rescued her from a clouded home, the memories of a much-loved brother, the pains of unsatisfied yearnings, and the death-sentence nature had passed on her, and away to sunny Italy, where for fifteen years she gave him that, for the dear sake of which he found it in himself to write—

> "Italy! my Italy!
> Open my heart, and you will see
> Graved inside of it—'Italy.'"

From the beginning it was an intellectual love. Elizabeth Barrett was Robert Browning's senior by some six years, not beautiful, not even youthful, and hardly interesting; yet they contrived to make a whole literature of their love, of such rare completeness as Life is seldom crowned with. There was a view of something rich in her, which burst into a beautiful consummation at his touch. It was mind responding to mind and persuading with it everything else that mattered.

When a man loves as Robert Browning did, he loves happily. He loved without the impetuosity of youth, but with the profundity of maturity, the strength of passion, and the masterfulness of his manhood. She took her cue from him; and

together with her poor broken life, gave him all the worth of her intellectual being. It was beautiful, but it was different from that admirable love, which is three parts woman and one part man, which has a vein of steel where all is gold. She yielded at a touch, and he was satisfied with his easy-won jewel, and prized her for her graciousness. That extreme sorrow of love which is half its sweetness, slipped by him, but he had not youth enough for regret. To her he says.—

> "But you spared me this, like the heart you are,
> And filled my empty heart at a word."

There are four lines in George Eliot's Spanish Gipsy—

> "Speech is but broken light upon the depth
> Of the unspoken; even your loved words
> Float in the larger meaning of your voice
> As something dimmer."

The extremest eloquence falls short somewhere, and Mrs. Browning's forty-four sonnets are all too inadequate—"Nay, let the silence of my womanhood commend my woman-love to thy belief."

But she did not hesitate to take the whole world into her confidence.

In Mrs. Browning's love-story, there is a beauty of circumstance that is remarkable. The first sonnet, which is perhaps the finest, reads—

> "I thought once how Theocritus had sung
> Of the sweet years···
> And, as I mused it in his antique tongue,
> I saw in gradual vision through my tears,
> The sweet, sad years, the melancholy years,
> Those of my own life, who by turns had flung
> A shadow across me. Straightway I was 'ware
> So weeping, how a mystic Shape did move
> Behind me, and drew me backward by the hair,
> And a voice said in mastery while I strove...
> 'Guess now who holds thee?' 'Death,' I said. But, there,
> The silver answer rang...' Not Death, but Love.' "

The idea is singularly beautiful, that of the woman brooding over her wasted days and nights, suddenly in the grip of the superman—not he of Bernard Shaw's conception, he is all brute —but one who is masterful, and yet has an all-satisfying silver answer, who though he had overlooked this one woman completely, remembered her when the shadows were lengthening, and came back for her in compunction, and in a minute gathered all Life's arrears.

Mrs. Browning realized the incongruity of her romance, and also its deep harmony. To the world Robert Browning was then known as the man who had married Mrs. Browning. He probably did not like it, but as probably he was not consulted. His wife was one of the few who immediately recognized his superiority. Women are weak enough to make heroes of husbands, but Elizabeth Barrett was an intellectual woman, and when she deified Robert Browning, she showed more sense than sentiment. She threw her intellectual self into a beautiful concord with her womanliness. She explains her situation with a singular felicity—

> " Thou hast thy calling to some palace floor,
> Most gracious singer of high poems! where
> The dancers will break footing, from the care
> Of watching up thy pregnant lips for more.
> And dost thou lift this house's latch too poor
> For hand of thine?...
> Look up and see the casement broken in,
> The bats and owlets builders in the roof!
> My cricket chirps against thy mandolin.
> Hush! call no echo up in further proof
> Of desolation! there's a voice within
> That weeps—as thou must sing—alone, aloof! "

A characteristic feature is the absolute lack of anticipation. The total impression is one of fulfilment, of present felicity. There is a note of finality in the welcome she offers her belated lover, an acceptance that leaves no ground for doubt. A subtle

theme is treated with an unusual naïveté, and the effect is one of a silencing grace.

Sometimes she is no longer all intellect, but so much of the woman, as the extreme generosity of her Lover shames to confession.

> " What can I give thee back, O liberal
> And princely giver, who hast brought the gold
> And purple of thine heart, unstained, untold,
> And laid them on the outside of the wall
> For such as I to take or leave withal,
> In unexpected largesse? Am I cold,
> Ungrateful, that for these most manifold
> High gifts, I render nothing back at all?
> Not so; not cold,—but very poor instead! "

For such sweet acknowledgment a poor human life is worth the living. Here is the eternal problem of the giver and the taker, which not all the lovers of all the ages have satisfactorily solved. There is a giving which is its own satisfaction. There is an illustrative verse of Yeats'

> " Had I the heaven's embroidered cloths
> Enwrought with golden and silver light,
> The blue, and the dim, and the dark cloths
> Of night, and light, and the half-light,
> I would spread the cloths under your feet:
> But I, being poor, have only my dreams,
> I have spread my dreams under your feet,
> Tread softly, because you tread on my dreams."

Mrs. Browning was not such an aspirant.

> " For frequent tears have run
> The colour from my life "

—and womanhood breaks easily.

She saw herself as the recipient of wealth untold, and could not find the wherewithal to acquit herself. However generosity is the giver's gift, and a recognition of its pricelessness his best reward. Yet, if she had not been superior to it, we would have suspected that Mrs. Browning was suffering from an inferiority complex.

She hardly attempts to analyse her supreme emotion. These poems of hers are an exposition of the theme, but due to its subtle quality they leave the impression of a great impersonal passion, curiously operating through, and made manifest by personal details. Sonnet number X is an apotheosis of love—

> " Fire is bright,
> Let temple burn, or flax. An equal light
> Leaps in the flame from cedar plank or weed.
> And Love is fire;...
> ...There's nothing low
> In love, when love the lowest...
> And what *I feel* across the inferior features
> Of what *I am*, doth flash itself, and show
> How that great work of Love enhances Nature."

Here it is purely impersonal, the love of a philosophizing soul. The same impersonality runs on—

> " If thou must love me, let it be for nought
> Except for love's sake only. Do not say
> ' I love her for her smile, her look—her way
> Of speaking gently—for a trick of thought
> That falls in well with mine...
> .....Neither love me for
> Thine own dear pity's wiping my cheeks dry,
> But love me for love's sake."

With all her brains she had discovered that love was the last word in life.

> " The face of all the world is changed I think,
> Since first I heard the foot-steps of thy soul.
> And this—this lute and song—loved yesterday
> (The singing angels know) are only dear
> Because thy name moves right in what they say."

Even the meretricious Byron knew that

> " Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
> " Tis woman's whole existence."

And Elizabeth Browning with fine decision says,—

"Then love me Love! I yield the grave for thy sake,
And exchange my near sweet view of Heaven, for earth with thee!"

Here is something, not physical, hardly spiritual, but pre-eminently intellectual and graciously poetic.

Our poetess is not Platonic. The philosophy she reveals is an intensely personal philosophy. Hers is not a home-building love, neither is it that etherealism of Shelley's, which was the desire of the night for the morrow. Her idealism is a purely human idealism. It is not futuristic; it does not aspire to perfectibility. It is based on a deep appreciation of life and its great-hearted genius, but it does not taste of the honey-dew of paradise. Throughout runs a fine quality of immaterialism which is not transcendental, which does not trace its origin to some high seat of song. It is absolute but it is not Byron's ruthless passion, which has force but no philosophy. It is calmly beautiful, but it is not of Wordsworth's earth-dwelling and heaven-aspiring calmness. It is deeply melancholy but it never dreams of Shelley's supreme sorrow. Byron lived *by* love; Wordsworth lived *with* love; Shelley lived *for* love, and Mrs. Browning lived *on* love.

The shades of her seclusion had descended on her soul. She was a creature of circumstances, but all her experience was literary, she wrote in the days that followed close upon the French Revolution, when great powers were assiduously at work in order to bring about an intellectual emancipation. She had written a lay of the children, yet here she stands peculiarly aloof from the large ideas of universal significance which were new-revealed to the world. She is sweetly serious, and calmly communicative.

She belonged to the humanitarian school, yet the current of naturalism here touches her but indifferently. She was not a doctrinaire, nor a theorist. She was not even always practical, but peculiarly effeminate. This effeminacy mars her best poetry, among which are the Sonnets from the Portuguese.

She was hopelessly sentimental to the end, in spite of her intellectual faculties, and in direct contrast to all the sense and manliness of Browning. Witness such passages as—

> " .....because nor sin, nor woe,
> Nor God's inflictions, nor Death's neighbourhood,
> Nor all which other's viewing, turn to go
> Nothin repels thee,.....dearnest, teach me so

to pour out gratitude, as thou dost good." But "dearest," who wrote *The Ring and the Book*, should be weary of such sentimental reiteration, long before she had seen the length of her 44 sonnets.

Mrs. Browning's love-story is now out-of-date. She was too passive, too tearful, too conscious of her unworthiness, far too much under a voluntary obligation to him who had so honoured her, with all her dicta of the absolution of love. She is preoccupied with her circumstances, she lacked that 'disinterestedness' on which Arnold insists. Her poetry is nowhere a commentary on life. She was a poetess, but never of that high quality of art which makes all things universal. She never dared the unpastured dragon in his den, like that other young poet, Keats, whose unfortunate love brought out all the weaknesses of his nature, and whose love-letters should never have been published to a world which reads Hyperion. Mrs. Browning's case was different. Nature had been ungenerous to both, but Mrs. Browning loved at thirty-seven, and died at fifty-two; and Keats loved at twenty-four, and died at twenty-six.

Mrs. Browning's love-story was beautiful; and Keats' may be omitted from his life.

There was a definite religious tendency in Mrs. Browning, but never of a morbid insistence. In The Sonnets from the Portuguese this element recedes to the background; but it is there. She is never a positivist, or a nationalist, but merely one who has discovered a treasure in an unexpected quarter, and learnt "That Love, strong as death, retrieves as well."

There is a fine expression of the glorification of Love in our Indian poet's—

"তুমি মোরে করেছ' সম্রাট্। তুমি মোরে
পরায়েছ গৌরব মুকুট। পুষ্প ডোরে
সাজায়েছ' কণ্ঠ মোর; তব রাজটিকা
দীপিছে ললাট মাঝে মহিমার শিখা
অহর্নিশি। আমার সকল দৈন্য-লাজ,
আমার ক্ষুদ্রতা যত ঢাকিয়াছ আজ
তব রাজ আস্তরণে।"

And Mrs. Browning writes—

"Indeed, this very Love which is my boast,
And which when rising up from breast to brow.
Doth crown me with a ruby large enow
To draw men's eyes and prove the inner cost."

But there is no chance of the passion transcending the object—

"And yet, because thou overcomest so,
Because thou art more noble, and like a king
Thou canst prevail against my fear, and fling
Thy purple round me, till my heart shall grow
Too close against thine heart... "

She surrenders herself so completely to a stronger personality that her very absoluteness makes for strength. There is a calm assurance in her grand passion.

"How, Dearest, wilt thou have me for most use ?
A hope, to sing by gladly?—Or a fine
Sad memory, with thy songs to interfuse?
A shade in which to sing of palm or pine?
A grave or which to rest from singing?
Choose !"

Every figure in her fine rhetoric breathes of Helicon and the Springs of Pieiria.

It is not the age-long story of femininity submitting to masculinity, but the lesser intellect sacrificing itself to the greater. And Robert Browning was uncompromisingly thorough-going.

The woman allows her intellectual self to be immersed in the Man's and finds her consummation therein.

> " My thoughts do twine and bud about thee...
> Yet, O my palm-tree, it understood,
> I will not have my thoughts instead of thee,
> Who art dearer, better! "

Sometimes she is girlishly doubtful of him, this mature woman, who had left youth so far behind ; because Love had come to her uncalled for, as a direct contradiction to all she dared dream of.

> " If I leave all for thee, wilt thou exchange
> And be all to me ?...
> Alas ! I have grieved so, I am hard to love,
> Yet love me—wilt thou? "

Mrs. Browning's emotional attitude is unusual for an independent woman. A suppressed emotionalism here breaks out with a habitual melancholy, and a rare abandon, poetic because naturally graceful she is almost oriental in her self-consecration. Her union is irrevocable, it leaves no way for a retreat, and womanlike she is content. She lays no fetters on her lover; he is at liberty to depart, for her marriage has received the benediction of a spiritual consummation.

> " Go from me.
> The widest land
> Doom takes to part us, leaves thy heart in mine
> With pulses that beat double. What I do,
> And what I dream, include thee, as the wine
> Must taste of its own grapes."

It is that beautiful Hindu ideal of marriage, which the world has never fully comprehended.

*The Sonnets from the Portuguese* occupy a curious place in English literature. Technically they are far from perfect; they are even below the average standard. Mrs. Browning was never a great rhymer, and when she links 'move' with 'strove' and 'love' she rhymes verbally, and not phonetically as well, but when she couples 'through' with 'dew' 'boast' with 'lost,' and 'destinies' with 'surprise' she rhymes neither verbally nor phonetically. In fact, Mrs. Browning never went in for artistry, she was not craftsman enough for that; she never essayed a formal grace.

These sonnets are the only English specimen of a frank poetic expression of authentic feminine emotional experience. That other sonnet-sequence, Christina Rossetti's Monna Innominata, is below comparison. It was written to celebrate an unhappy love, and therefore stood in direct contrast to *The Sonnets from the Portuguese*. It does not profess to be a confession of personal experience, but it is permeated with the gentle personality of the poetess, and with her sentimentality, which is worse than Elizabeth Barrett Browning's, because of its deliberate religiosity.

Mrs. Browning has been acknowledged the first poetess of England, but except for a few occasional pieces, is seldom read for pleasure. One eminent reason is that she was a Victorian as all those other great men were, but without their marvellous virility, she was too feminine, considered all in all, and lacked that one part masculinity which makes for permanence. The fame of her sonnets is mainly due to their rare sincerity. They are not, strictly speaking, criticisms of life, but they are not wanting in a certain high seriousness, which is the life of art. They have never been popularized as Shakespeare and Tennyson have been, because they lack those smart sayings that take a grip of the popular fancy, which has always a weakness for casuistry. They also do not touch upon that deep hunger which knows no satisfaction in sacramental bread.

Christina Rossetti was a fluttering shadow. She never soars to Mrs. Browning's delectable heights, but dwells on earth in the midst of purple clover and sweet lavender, in a mist of half-hysteric tears, and self-created pathos.

"Youth gone, and beauty gone, if ever there
Dwelt beauty in so poor a face as this ;
Youth gone, and beauty, what remains of bliss?
I will not bind fresh roses in my hair,
To shame a cheek at best but little fair.

Youth gone, and beauty gone, what doth remain ?
A silent heart whose silence loves and longs ;
The silence of a heart which sang its songs
While Youth and Beauty made a summer morn,
Silence of Love that cannot sing again."

That is Christina Rossetti, with her pretty poetry in her vale of tears; but Mrs. Browning, who had no youth and beauty, only a great happiness, writes :—

"How do I love thee ? Let me count the ways.
I love thee to the depth, and breadth, and height
My soul can reach, when feeling out of sight
For the ends of Being and Ideal Grace.
I love thee to the level of every day's
Most quite need, by sun and candle-light,
I love thee freely, as men strive for Right ;
I love thee purely, as they turn from Praise.
I love thee with the Passion put to use
In my old griefs, and with my childhood's faith,
I love thee with a love I seem to lose
With my lost stain,—I love thee with the breadth.
Smiles, tears, of all my life!—And if God choose
I shall but love thee better after death !"

LILA RAY

# AN EARLY ARABIAN AUTHOR, ON THE INDIAN SYSTEM OF MEDICINE

One of the greatest services rendered by the Musalmans, during their palmy days, to the cause of science, consisted in their efforts to bring together the results of the labours of their predecessors in the field of science, in the different parts of the world.

In the science of Astronomy they got the works of the Indians as well as of the Greeks translated into Arabic. In Alchemy, they first got the works, known to them, translated into their only literary and scientific language. In the art of Navigation, they got the use of the compass from the Chinese from whom they got the art of manufacturing paper also. In the science of medicine also they were not content with the results of the efforts of the Greeks only; rather, they went a step further and got most of the important medical works of the Indians also translated into Arabic.

Though, however, we find constant references to the Mathematical works of the Indians, in the works of the Arabian authors, yet very rarely we come across any reference to the Medical works of the Indians in the Arabian medical works. In the commonly used works of al-Razi we scarcely find any mention of *Charaka*, of *Suśruta* or of *Nidāna*. In the *Qanun* of Abi Sina, the name of *Charaka* only is mentioned, but not at more than two or three places and even this occurs in connection with the Therapeutics only. In none of the works of the Arabian authors on medical science, do we find any reference to the Physiology, the Pathology, the theory of medicine or to any other theoretical part of the Healing Art of the Indians.

There is, however, one exception to this general remark. This exception is the *Firdaus'ul-ḥikmat*, or "*The Paradise of*

*wisdom,*" the first Medical compendiumindependently-written in Arabic language in the year 850 A.D., by Abu Sahl 'Ali b. Rabban, the teacher of al-Rází who is generally acknowledged to be the greatest physician of the middle ages,

'Ali, the author of the "*Paradise,*" had received his education in medical science as well as in the other sciences in vogue at the time, from his father al-Rabban who, according to the statement of 'Ali himself was a Christian, belonged to an educated "family of secretaries" residing at Merv in Persia, preferred the medical profession to that of his family-members and practised it not for the sake of praise or profit but in order to do good to humanity and attain Divine attributes." [1]

Having finished his studies Ali was compelled by circumstances to take up a profession other than the one he liked and loved. But he kept his taste for the Healing Art, and continued his study of the subject. In the meantime he felt the necessity of such a short self-contained compendium on Medicine, in the Arabic language, as should serve as a text-book to the students and as a guide to the practitioners of medicine. He set himself to work at it and after many years of unceasing hard labour he produced his book on medical science. The *Firḍausul-Hikmat* or The "*Paradise of Wisdom.*"

'Ali, the author, as well as his book 'The Firdaus,' were held in high regard by scholars of established reputation. This is apparent from the fact that the authors on different subjects have quoted from the *Firdaus* in their works. (1) al-Rází, (2) al-Nafís'ul-Kirmání, (3) Badruddín-al-Qalánísí, among the medical writers; (4) al-Bírúní, (5) al-Mas'údì, (6) Yáqút-al-Ḥamawì, (7) Ibn-i-Isfandiár, (8) Abul-Muayyad-al-Balákhí, among the historians, (9) Ibnul-Bayṭár. the botanist and (10) al-Damiri, the zoologist, have all quoted passages from the *Firdaus* which have been already identified by me, in their

[1] Ferdausu'l Hikmat, pp. 1-2.

works.[1] After some time, however, the *Firdaas* as well as its author were forgotten and the book became so scarce that, in spite of the greatest search and research, I could not find more than four manuscripts of the book, of which the British Museum copy was made use of by the late lamented orientalist, Prof. E. G. Brown, in his 'Lectures on Arabian Medicine,' wherein Prof. Brown, for the first time, drew serious attention of the Orientalists to the importance of this book. He was so much influenced by the study of this book that he persuaded me to prepare a critical edition of it and when this was done he got considerable financial aid by Gibb Memorial Trust, towards its publication by the Sonner-Druckerei of Berlin.

It is in this book, however, that we find one whole discourse on the whole system of the Indian Medicine, based on the most important original works on the subject, which were translated from Sanskrit directly or through Persian, into Arabic, during the early Abbaside period: 1. Charaka, 2. Suśruta, 3. Nidāna, 4. Ashtāngahṛadaya.

This discourse is divided into thirty-six chapters each of which is devoted to a particular topic, connected with the science of medicine according to the Indian system of it.

In the first chapter which is devoted to the causes which led to the discovery of the science of medicine, 'Ali says, "Having reached the end of the book I think it only proper to mention in one discourse, a few chapters taken from the books of the Indians on Medicine and their best drugs. I hope that this would add to the knowledge of the students. Having known the points of agreement and of difference between these two great nations (the Greeks and the Indians), they would excel in the science and would attain eminence in its knowledge (theory) as well as in its practice. In what I have written here, there is a good deal that is in agreement with what the Greeks hold and there is a good deal in which they (the Greeks and

[1] See the Ferdausu'l-Hikmat, Int., pp. xiv-xv.

the Indians) differ; the reasoning of the Indians in such cases does not appeal to me. Whenever the reader finds, a correct opinion or a right judgment he should accept it and wherever he cannot agree (with what the Indians hold) he should reject it."

After these preliminary remarks, the author of the *Firdause* gives the theory of disease and of the discovery of the science of medicine, according to Charaka, and the latter only according to Susruta.

Chapter 2—on the division of the science of medicine in 8 parts according to Susruta.

Chapter 3—on the qualifications necessary for the students of medicine.

Chapter 4—on the general principles to be followed in the treatment of patients, and also with what is required of the physician, of the patient and of those who look after him. (*Cf.* Susruta Vol. 1, pp. 16; 19-20).

Chapter 5—on the production of animals and men and deals with the principal constituents of human body.

Chapter 6—on embryology and the formation of the different parts of the embryo. (Paras. 2 and 3 is based on Susruta, Chap. 1, and Nidana, respectively.)

Chapter 7—on the three mixtio and their actions in case they increase or decrease from the right proportion.

Chapter 8—on the preservation of health and is based on Ashtangahridaya.

Chapter 9—on the outlets for the superfluous matters in the body and the diseases caused by suppressing them and their treatment. (*Cf.* Charaka, Lesson VII, pp. 73-76.)

Chapter 10—on the diseases caused by excess in diet.

Chapter 11—on the different kinds of water and their effects on human body.

Chapter 12—on taste and on diet, and the need of their knowledge by the physician.

Chapter 13—on the arrangement of courses.

Chapter 14—on what should be taken with wine.

Chapter 15—on wine.

Chapter 16—on milk. (*Cf.* Charaka, Lesson VII, pp. 368-370).

Chapter 17—on what should be done during the different seasons of the year in order to keep healthy.

Chapter 18—on general instruction found in the books of the Indians. (*Cf.* Charaka, pp. 90-101.)

Chapter 19—on the causes of disease according to Nidana and Charaka. (*Cf.* Charaka, pp. 481-482.)

Chapter 20—on the different kinds of diseases. (*Cf.* Charaka, pp. 109-111.)

Chapter 21—on prognosis.

Chapter 22—on the causes of the various diseases and the seasons in which they prevail.

Chapter 23—on the diseases caused by the increase of every mixtio.

Chapter 24—on the methods of treatment.

Chapter 25—on Hiccough.

Chapter 26—on cough and its treatment.

Chapter 27—on thirst.

Chapter 28—on weakness of the bowels.

Chapter 29—on the various kinds of fevers and their diagnosis. (*Cf.* Susruta, Vol. 1, pp. 229.)

Chapter 30—on the treatment of the different kinds of fever.

Chapter 31—on bleeding and when it should not be practised.

Chapter 32—on good and bad symptoms.

Chapter 33—on evil spirits and their influence on human beings.

Chapter 34—on purgatives and emetics.

Chapter 35—(based on the writings of an Indian lady) – on facial cosmetics and the treatment of female diseases.

Chapter 36—on the compound medicines.

A glance at the chapters and their contents will show that 'Ali has tried to give in his book, briefly, a complete system of

Indian medicine, from the most important works on the subject. He has not subjected this system to any criticism. He himself says in Chapter 33 : "Verily my position with regard to what I write about the opinion of the Indians, in this and in other chapters, is not that of a follower ; but it is that of a relater only." Again he says in the same chapter : "I do not believe in all this ;" (what the Indians say about the evil spirit). These casual remarks by the author show that what he actually wanted was a serious unbiassed study of the two systems, the Greek and the Indian, by the students of Science, which could be expected to bear some important useful fruits. But the successors of 'Ali failed to follow his advice ; they were too much enamoured by the works of Hippocrates, Galenus, and other devotees of the Greek system to turn to the works of the great Indian physicians like Charaka, for inspiration or guidance. The Arabic medical writers of the later Abbaside period in their sceintific zeal did not think it worthwhile to draw inspiration from works which were apparently based on theological speculation and philosophical imagination. But if they had studied these works they would have realised that these works contained a lot of valuable results of keen minute observation, which receives the admiration of even the modern scientific world. As a matter of fact there are reasons to suppose that the Greeks themselves had drawn inspiration from India. (In this connection the oath of Hipocrates may be studied and compared with the Chapter on the initiation of the students to the science of Medicine. in Suśruta.)

There are, however one or two casual sentences in the *Firpaus*, which throw light on the knowledge of the Indian system of medicine by the public at the time when 'Ali lived. At one place, for example, he says : " Verily I have collected in this book of mine such treatments of diseases by the Indians, as are easy and are known to the people of this part of the world ; the rest I have left out." From this sentence it may be concluded that during the early Abbaside period a fair knowledge of the Indian medicine was common among the people living in

Mesopotamia and Persia. This conclusion can be easily corroborated by the fact that numerous Indian physicians were living in the court of the Caliphs at Baghdad, and some of them were successfully competing with the practitioners of the Greek system of the Healing Art. (See the Fihrist, p. 245; *Tabaqat-ul-Atibba*, Vol. 2, pp. 33-34; *Tarikh-ul-Hukamap*, 215.)

It is clear from the above that not only in the domain of Astronomy and the connected sciences, as is generally admitted, but also in the science of medicine the Muslims had tried to bring together the results of the labour of their predecessors in the field, and, perhaps to compare and verify them in the light of their own experience, which should be the first step towards the development and advancement of every science.

M, Z. SIDDIQI

# THE ETERNAL CALL

He must be very bold indeed, who in the midst of present circumstances puts forward any proposition of Religion. He will be laughed at, nay his sainty will be doubted. For, when we look around, the impression that will be made upon us is that Religion has been losing its ground. The advocate of a losing concern is sure to be discomfitted sooner or later. Any one who has eyes to see, it will be said, will see that there is almost everywhere worship of Mammon, not of God. From early hours in the morning till late at night there is one thought that reigns supreme in the minds of men—how to live best in the world. Here is a vast storehouse of highly valued articles displayed before human beings. Possessed of senses and powers, they greedily seize them for the gratification of their desires. Their entire time and energy are used at in equipping themselves for activities necessary to put themselves in possession of earthly things. Pleasures seem to be the chief concern of human undertaking. If for any superior order of happiness or peace in life some of them take to activities religious in character, it is pointed out they have been misled. What end has been gained by these erratic movements? Fruitless efforts they have been, having failed to add to the progress of the world, even in the least degree. Why then talk of Religion? Why bring in a discussion of supersensuous things, of the spirit or the soul? It will be a sheer waste of time, nay, an infliction upon all, best avoided.

It cannot of course be gainsaid that in the world there has been too much of worldliness, and circumstanced as he is, man cannot but be attracted by the various objects that appeal to his senses. An almost irresistible force compels him to follow the indications of the nature that is in him. Yet at the same time it must be admitted that he does not appear to have been born to

lead a purely natural life. A higher ideal has been held up in the order of things arranged for him. However much inclined he may feel to keep himself confined in the world of senses, there is always a dissatisfaction with the amount of success gained by him in that sphere. There is always a hankering to gain something better, a striving-for to achieve something higher and nobler in life. When impelled by this motive he takes to certain activities, he of course finds himself beset with many difficulties. But in the midst of all the trials and ordeals, it is noticed that he is in a position to add to his power to overcome them, and even in the midst of his weaknesses and failures he is being reminded of a bright future that awaits him.

Hence it is that from the dawn of human history a call has come to man to rise above mundane affairs and attain something which impresses itself as the highest and the noblest in his life. However much drowned this inner voice has been in the din and bustle of the world, it has never ceased to make itself heard. Even with the rolling away of centuries and in the midst of circumstances considered favourable to give the verdict of victory in favour of her world, the triumph of the Soul over the Body, of the inner self over the outer senses, of Religion over Scepticism, has separatedly been demonstrated in clear, unmistakable manifestations in the cause of history. The eternal can never be made to pass away. It is seen to assume new vigorous proportions in its activities when it appears to have been smothered. The reading of history cannot be blurred. Any one who has eyes to see can easily go through it.

The progress of the human species will be noticed to have been an ordered one. The whole process of the evolution must have been always present in the mind of the Great Master. The divisions of history, however well-defined they may be, are not separated from one another by hard-and-fast lines. One age merges into another and all the ages form parts of one united whole. An individual in his life represents both externally and internally all the phases of the progress that have already passed

away. All these tendencies and inclinations that sway the life of an individual have come down from time immemorial. Nothing appears to have become extinct. Present circumstances do not differ essentially from the circumstances of earlier times. People were as much guided by worldly considerations in days considered to constitute the Golden Age as in modern times when it is said Religion should be banished from the sphere of human activity. But with the touch of the Divine Magician and under the arrangement of the Universal Guide the old world has ever been putting on new forms. The changeless eternally existing facts of truth have been appearing and reappearing as novel and attractive things of creation. History is ordinarily stated to repeat itself, but on closer examination it will be found to be always in the making; new chapters have always been added to it. And in every page of this great Book of the Universe the great purpose of the Master Architect will be seen clearly indicated.

Man is said to have first approached his Deity, impelled by fear. Finding himself in a helpless condition in the midst of evil forces and enemies ever ready to do harm to him, he sought the help of some one who might help him out of his difficulties. In the next stage he is believed to have thought of his God as one who will kindly supply him all his wants. Prayers were therefore offered to him for various purposes, spiritual as well as temporal. Then came the idea that the Divine Being was not to be pestered with so many petitions, but should be an object of love to the human being. God loves man, and it is the duty of man to love God; no other consideration should guide the former in his dealings with the latter. But these three stages of progress should not be referred to three different ages, and even after so many centuries of the world's course it cannot be said that any one of them has been overridden. All the three are still there, claiming the alteration of human beings. In all ages of the world basest desires are found to fill the hearts of men; but at the same time noble ideals are also present to influence

the individuals and help them in rising above temptations and trials. Through varied circumstances and guided by different motives human beings have attempted to reach a higher state of bliss and peace.

There has been a continuity kept up in the midst of all changes in the conditions of the world. And nowhere does this law of continuity seem to be working with greater force than in India. Down from the Vedic times to the twentieth century the noble ideals of life have never through the ages been allowed to disappear. In the midst of many ups and downs and varied circumstances the way to the highest goal of human existence has always been clearly indicated. The call to the inner self has never been drowned in the din and bustle of the outer environments.

When in the early pages of Indian History we read of fighting and struggle carried on by one section of the people against another, and when riches were being acquired and kingdoms being founded, ever then the ideal was held up before the people, "**मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम्**" "Do not covet other men's riches." Riches themselves will never satisfy your heart's hankering.

Thus even with the prospect of acquisition of riches by inheritance and presentation the dissatisfied soul cries out **येनाहं नामृता स्याम् किमहं तेन कुर्य्याम् ?**—"What shall I do with that which will not bring immortality to me?" When death is certain, dissolution of the body, so dear to all, is inevitable, where does this hope for immortality come from? Why this desire to continue existing even after all those natural phenomena so familiar to all end? However much a man is filled with despair and fear at the prospect of death, the whisper comes to him, from whom and where at first may not be clear to him, but the voice that thrills his heart is clear and definite, he has got life not to lose it, but to continue through eternity, marching on through ever-varied scenes and realising ever-renewed experiences. Hence it is that he is not cowed even when all the forces of the phenomenal

world are up to crush him and that there is still the hope that he will be able to overcome them and attain something higher and nobler than what the world can give him. To feel this hope the whisper comes to him ever and anon ; to keep up the flame life of. still burning the resusitating touch of something supramundane is felt by him again and again—just as in the life of an individual, so also in the life of the human society. Thus, again, where the devastating war of the Kuru-Pandavas was going on, where one party would not part with an inch of ground without fighting and the other equally determined to recover their lawful possessions, why not allow them to carry on their fighting without their minds being disturbed by any other thought? But that could not be. While fighting for kingdom and earthly possessions they were reminded of the frailty of human bodies and the worthlessness of the worldly things. Indeed, it is one of the greatest wonders of the world that on a battle-field was taught the noblest philosophy of the human life. Further, the results of the great struggle were disappointing to both the parties, the vanquished as well as the victors. The Divine Call came to them through the flute. Those who kept their ears open and allowed their hearts to be touched lost all attractions for worldly riches and freeing themselves from all earthly moorings were wholly carried away to where they at first had no idea of.

Yes, the Divine Call has always been so sweet, indeed, sweeter than all the music of the world put together. Otherwise, how can it soften and enrapture the hardened souls of all, immersed as they are in gross worldliness. The temptations of the world are fascinating, the ties of bond chaining a person to earthly attractions are strong, but all these lose their force and become loosened where the heart is filled with the sweetness of the Divine Call. Thus, all the ways and means employed by King Suddhodana to keep his son Siddharta confined within the palace failed. There came the Call to him and he could not but respond to it. All prospects of a rich inheritance were abandoned. The princely body was subjected to immense hardships to attain True

Knowledge. When the end was gained, the Enlightened Soul devoted itself to the service of mankind. The state of things in the country was changed through the outpourings of that soul, even in a time when we learn that a prince did not feel any scruple to do away with his father for the early possession of an earthly throne. The account is the same at all places and at all times. In the small land of Western Asia where the inhabitants had turned their temples into bazaars and were eagerly looking for a hero who would set up an earthly state for themselves, the son of God camet o turn their eyes inward. Mighty in the power of the Lord, great in the possession of a beautiful character, and armed with the weapon of love, the Messiah went on proclaiming, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and this righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." Was that the time when the people were inclined in any way to listen to such words ? They were bent upon the acquisition of earthly riches and none cared for the gathering of harvests for the soul. Yet in the midst of these circumstances the command was reverberated, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." Men were reminded of the great possibilities of their existence; they were enjoined to be as perfect as their Heavenly Father is. But the people were not in a mood to listen to such words of advice. The preacher was condemned to be an enemy of them, maligned, ill-treated, nay, cruelly done away with. They thought they were able to silence that voice for ever, to stamp out the name of the person who had the boldness to say such unwise words. But lo! the result was quite the opposite. What went down again stood up; what was crushed, revived and endowed with eternal life to receive the homage and respect of mankind for all time to come. And the Light that then dawned in a corner of Asia travelled westwards and illumined all the countries of the world in course of time.

To God belongeth the East as well as the West; every part of the world is within his ken. Even the children of the desert have not been forgotten. The Prophet arose and brought about

the conversion of peoples who had so long thought too much of the world and its possessions. Darkness was dispelled, a new view of life was held up, and the entire population belonging to a great section of the human race was transformed. Progress in almost every sphere of human activity was noticed among them. Further, their enthusiasm for the new cause led them to go to different quarters of the globe and make themselves active to introduce reforms among all peoples with whom they came in contact.

The stream of Faith which is at first irresistible appears to be impeded with obstacles placed in its way by human beings and to lose its force. But the twist in man which sometimes does not allow him to see his own good is set right by the great power of religion when brought to bear upon it.

Coming back to India we find that the attention of mankind was again drawn to religion to find a solution of the problems of life in the 8th century. Ignorance is the cause of all evil in human life and true knowledge is knowledge of God; the highest aim of every individual soul should be to seek realisation of itself by finding out its relation with the Universal Soul. Surrounded by diverse things a man at first finds himself lost in them. They attract his attention, take up his time, and use up his energy. But then the consciousness dawns upon him that he has been trying to seize things which are valueless in themselves. Nothing lasts, nothing secures peace to him. Searching then all things for the real thing that will last, that will make his life worth living, he comes to know that there is only one true substance, one great reality. All others are phenomena, fleeting transitory things, which do not ultimately belong to him. He is then awakened to shun the unreal things and realise his own self by attaining true knowledge of himself and the Universe in the midst of which he is spending his days. Look inward, sink within yourself, and attain the knowledge of him who is the only Reality and realise your own self by being at one with the Great One without a second. This truth

was held up by the great seer and teacher who carried the torch of the wisdom from one end of the country to another and dispelled darkness by preaching against errors and fallacies which had come to be introduced in course of time. The success gained by the young Sage was wonderful and his teachings have ever since retained firm hold of the ground in the country.

The path of human life is full of trials and difficulties. Many are the temptations and severe is the struggle which a traveller has got to overcome to march on. To enable him to attain progress he must have success. The strength comes on from high; the sustenance is obtained from within. He must not therefore indulge in mere speculations. Indefinite abstraction will not do. The ideal should be clear and definite. The universal soul should therefore be as much a person as the individual soul. Direct personal relations should exist between the two. The final goal should be an object of love to the traveller. God should be loved as a person is loved by another bearing any relation with him in this world. The human heart should pour itself out in grateful remembrance of the various acts or kindness which the Great Person shows to the human being through this various relations with him. This aspect of the truth was dwelt upon by the philosopher saint who hailed from the South of India in the 12th century and particularly emphasised by the Prophet of Nadia in the 16th century. Himself immersed in the deep love of a personal god, he flooded the country, with the sweet nectar of the name of god which spread freely to all classes of people without distinction of caste or creed. Hard were the times and worldly minded were the immense majority of the people who cared very little for religion and God. But even in the midst of these circumstances truth was held up, the call came to the people to shun worldliness and dive deep into the love of God. Wonderful was the response to the call which indeed was too sweet to be resisted.

The vast land of India has from the very early times been the meeting ground of diverse races, manners, customs and faiths

of the world. In fact, India has been recognised to be an epitome of the world in all respects, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual; one thing that strikes even a casual observer of the Universe is the diversity of phenomena and things that fill it. The diverse elements are sometimes seen to come into conflict with one another; but on close examination it is seen that Nature is wide enough to hold them all and that its great law is progress through an organic connection and a harmonious development of them all. Just as every individual body is a systematised growth, in which there are many limbs with definite relations between them and different organs with functions that work smoothly in a correlated fashion, so also the vast universe is an organic whole. In the midst of diversities there is fundamental unity. As in other matters of human concern, so also is this true in respect of religious faith. The Lord of the Universe abhors dead uniformity but at the same time he stamps His unitary legend upon the face of everything. Crores of human beings are all different from one another; each one of them has his individuality. But there is the stamp of universality in every member of the vast human society. The individual is lost in the universal; the one includes the many. The strong resemblance of one to another is a matter of great wonder and is difficult to understand. But it is there and blessed indeed is he who succeeds in getting through the deep mystery of the creation. Belief in God is noticed in all groups of human beings, but then when we come to details we are struck with the various expressions of that belief in the world. They are so strange and differently put that they cannot be easily recognised as concerns relating to the same person. Not recognising the different expressions of the same thing, different groups of human beings have been estranged from one another and have set up different fields and different balls to keep up their differences and attain a seemingly pleasant victory for themselves over others whom they regard as opposed to them. But the Merciful One has in His own grace dispensed His blessings to manykind to

point out their error and save them from its evil effects. And it is paticularly in India that such manifestation of the kindly disposition of God to human beings may be noticed. From early times seers and prophets have appeared and worked in the country to bring about reconciliation between apparently conflicting views of life and its destiny. With the advance of centuries such working has become more active. The situation has indeed become more complicated but the solution for the complication has again and again been clearly pointed out. In the sixteenth century when men following different paths were very much opposed to each other, serious attempts were made to effect a reconciliation between the conflicting faiths and practices. Prophets and seers, and even the crowned head of a big empire, were inspired to show new paths of life which, rightly followed, would lead to happiness and peace.

Later, in the 19th century, when the three great streams of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam met here in the soil of India, the Lord of the Universe raised up His sons and workers to draw the attention of mankind to the great fact that the different streams of faith need not clash with each other and raise high and destructive waves but that the united waters might flow calmly and smoothly, dispersing beneficence and peace to all who ever came in contact with them.

The nineteenth century, it is said, is an age of agnosticism. Science is come to destroy Faith. Beliefs and practices have been shattered. "Natural selection, invariable sequence, Laws of Nature," etc., are to be found in the universe, but no trace of any Intelligent Being or Moral Governor as the Master and Guide of the universe can be detected. Yes, such has been the cry all over the world for some time. But, as in earlier times, so also in the present day, in the midst of very adverse circumstances Religion has been asserting itself and has not lost any force. On the other hand, the 19th century, the age of sheer worldliness, witnessed a galaxy of men who held up the banner of Faith, and showed by their lives and activities that the supreme fact in

the life of man is still Religion, that Faith still works wonders. Filled with Divine Light they shone forth brilliantly during their days and there is no doubt that their brilliancy will increase with the advance of times. The message of God was delivered by them with as much emphasis and force as in earlier times. Further, one special characteristic feature of their teachings was the emphasis which they laid on the fundamental unity in the midst of diversity of faiths and practices. With the progress of the age the different parts of the world have been brought closer with the help of Science. Their inhabitants have come to live nearer, not to quarrel with each other, but to find out their resemblances in their differences and to live together as members of a huge joint family helping each other to attain their self-realisation. People coming together may not at first have any clear idea of their close relations and may even look upon each other as rivals. But the time comes when there grows up among them a consciousness of a community of interests which bind them solidly as one body. Of them all religion is found to be the strongest one. It has of course for a long time been seen to set up different groups opposed to each other in many respects, but when it is allowed to bind them all, the solidarity is undoubtedly the most real and lasting one. This idea of a united humanity to be effected through a Religion of Harmony, first thought in Bengal, has spread to all parts of the world and has affected every movement and organisation of all important sections of mankind. Science has also come to the aid of Religion to make the same impression upon men. The vast universe is an organised whole, every part of which is closely connected with every other part, every inhabitant of which is for his own good dependent upon every other inhabitant. With the progress of science the wants of human beings are being standardised, the interests are being unified. It speaks of one great force to which all forces are ultimately reducible; it draws the attention of all to one great truth which is the final result to be arrived at through all human efforts. Thus, what first came through Inspiration, through

direct contact of soul with universal, is now being demonstrated and proved to be true with the help of observations and close examinations with which human beings are primarily concerned.

The call to man to rise above mundane affairs, to attain a self-realisation in which lies true peace of existence, has thus never ceased to make itself heard. As in the earliest times, so also in the midst of modern circumstances, the ideal of a truly glorious future for every individual has been held up. Every one is quite free to attain it in his life. The path of life is of course beset with dangers and difficulties. But these can be overcome, the problems of life can be solved, and happiness and peace attained, if the individual and the society respond to the call which has been eternally and incessantly beating against their heart.

DEVENDRA NATH SEN

# A NOTE ON THE PERSONAL RELATIONS OF WARREN HASTINGS AND SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD

Sir Thomas Rumbold was Governor of Madras from February, 1778 to April, 1780. Up to October, 1779 his relations with the Governor-General and Council of Bengal were fairly smooth. But after that date a bitter quarrel arose between his administration and the Government of Bengal which had been invested by the Regulating Act with powers of control over the other presidencies in matters of commencing hostilities and concluding treaties. How the Madras government irritated the Nizam by obtaining without his consent from his brother Basalat Jang the circar of Guntur at rent, and demanding peremptorily the remission of the tribute due to the subahdar of the Deccan on account of the other circars held by the company, how again they had annoyed Haidar by marching troops to the assistance of Basalat Jang through a portion of Haidar's territory, and how the Bengal government intervened to appease the Nizam, are matters not unknown to the student of British Indian History. On that occasion, Rumbold and his administration resented strongly the action of Bengal, denied any power in the Supreme Council to interfere, re-called John Hollirnd, theo resident at the court of Haidarabad, though he had been asked to continue there by Bengal, and shifted the responsibility for the hostile attitude of the Nizam and Haidar to the policy pursued by Bengal in central and western India. The extreme bitterness which characterised the relations of the presidencies at this period was revealed in the acrimonious correspondence which followed. In this dispute between the two governments

the Court of Directors attributed the annoyance caused to the Nizam and Haidar to the impolitic acts of the Madras government, and decided in favour of the Governor-General and Council. For these and other acts connected with the internal affairs of Madras the Directors dismissed Sir Thomas Rumbold from their service (1781). In 1783 a bill of pains and penalties was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons. The prosecution was opened in February but abandoned on 2nd June of the same year.[1]

It is clear that this conflict between the two governments was the inevitable result of the insufficient powers combined with huge responsibility which was given to Bengal, while the tradition of independence in the subordinate presidencies died hard. In short, the arrangement under the Regulating Act was found to be unworkable in practice. To what extent personal relations between the heads of the administrations affected the working of the Act has of necessity to remain somewhat obscure on account of the paucity of materials. With reference to the relations of Warren Hastings with Lord Macartney, in whose time the conflict between Bengal and Madras assumed a more serious proportion than in the days of Rumbold, we have some materials in the Hastings papers in the British Museum, among the collection of documents in the India Office known as the Home Miscellaneous and in Gleig's work. We see there that Lord Macartney was recommended to Hastings by the Governor General's friends in London as a person who would "second your endeavours for the public welfare," that Macartney on arrival at Madras carefully sought to cultivate the friendship of Hastings, that Hastings' submitted to him his own plans for consideration, but then as Macartney freely criticised them, the

[1] Dasgupta, A. P.,—The Central Authority in British India, Ch. II.

Governor-General practically his correspondence with him.[2] Hastings, it is obvious, had become so tired of counteraction in his own council and in other quarters, that he had become incapable of enduring criticism. The last letter that Hastings wrote assuring Macartney of his co-operation and support was in March, 1782. There is reason to believe that in April, 1782, the Governor-General was labouring under the unfounded belief that Macartney was seeking to undermine his position at home. Then came a series of situations, too lengthy to describe here, for which the Regulating Act was responsible and which were considerably aggravated by the mistrust felt by the Governor-General towards Macartney. It is possible to detect here that the personal relations of Hastings and Macartney were strained by having to work under the situation created by the Act, whereas it is also true that the dissensions between the two presidencies were more embittered by the personal hostility which, inspite of the best intentions of Macartney, had unfortunately developed between him and Hastings.

May the same be said of the personal relations of Hastings and Rumbold? In this case, however, the paucity of materials is greater, and no conclusion can be reached. I have not been able to come across any document indicating what Hastings at any time thought of Rumbold as a man, neither have I been able to find any letter from Hastings to Rumbold in the vast mass of Hastings papers among the "Additional Manuscripts" in the British Museum. There are however among the same papers in the "Additional MSS." volume nos. 29140 to 29143, thirty-three letters from Rumbold to Hastings upon which I venture to make some conjectural remarks.

That Hastings might have been from the outset to a certain extent prejudiced against Rumbold will be surmised from the fact that in 1773 Hastings had received letters from his friends in London informing that Rumbold was successfully wire-pulling

[2] Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.

in order to replace him in Bengal.[3] But then had not Rumbold made good? For we hear from Laurence Sulivan in 1776 that when there was a motion in the Directors to dismiss Hastings, "Harrison behaved well, and so did Becher and Rumbold."[4] At any rate, on arrival in India in February 1778 as Governor of Madras, Rumbold commenced well. He informed the Governor General of his arrival and sent him his compliments, concluding, "I have been too short a time here to enter into any very particular discussion with you on matters relative to the management of affairs here....."[5] Hastings appears to have immediately congratulated Rumbold on his arrival.[6] Rumbold replied by describing the state of affairs in south India and promising that, "I shall not fail to write you on every

[3] *Palk to Hastings*—London 8th February, 1773.

"Rumbold is soliciting to be your successor and has obtained I hear the approbation of the committee of correspondence, but they are afraid of proceeding further imagining he may hereafter fall under some censure about the Mahtot and customs upon salt."—Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. no. 29133, fo. 378.

*Sykes to Hastings*—London 10th February 1773.

"I believe the constitution of the Company will be totally altered.....Rumbold will I think be appointed your successor—as he has been paving the way for it a long time."—*Idem*, ff. 381-2.

*Sykes to Hastings*—London 3rd March, 1773.

"Rumbold is appointed to succeed you at Bengal. The Company's affairs are still before Parliament.

"Rumbold lent St. George a large sum of money when St. George was in distress which has been a means of getting him his object he has ever since he was first disappointed been anxious to return."—*Idem*, fo. 418.

*J. Caillaud to Hastings*—London 15th March, 1773.

".....there is one resolution relative to yourself which I am satisfied will not be changed .....to wit your appointment of Governor General in India.....—*Idem*, fo. 443 *b*.

"In this uncertain state of affairs when I can assure you that the leading men in the direction are quite in the dark as to the intentions of the minister, in this situation they have notwithstanding appointed Mr. Rumbold as second in council and to succeed in the Government of Bengal. This injudicious ill-timed appointment has met with universal disapprobation and most certainly will never take place."—*Idem*, fo. 446.

[4] Sulivan to Hastings, 1st April, 1776, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. no. 29137, fo. 137.

[5] Rumbold to Hastings, Fort St. George 12th February, 1778—*Idem*, no. 29140, fo. 115.

[6] Same to same—23 March, 1778.—*Idem*, fo. 219.

occurrence and intelligence I receive and shall be happy to execute any command you may have here....." [7]

In this letter he made a suggestion for an offensive and defensive treaty with Haidar saying that, ".....it strikes me that our mode of assisting the Bombay government in their opperations against the Marathas should be thro' Hydar—this would answer two ends, it would be giving Hydar an instance of our intentions to promote a firm alliance with him, it would break the chain of French politics and evidently be the best way of co-operating with you and Bombay against our general enemy, this I wish to bring forward, but wait your sentiments upon it." [8] Again Rumbold wrote, "I have received the most pressing entreaties from Haidar to enter into some engagements with him.....I have only spoke to the vakeel in general terms, not too much to encourage or disappoint his hopes, till I hear from you, which I hourly expect.....I do suppose there never was a more favourable opportunity to become the umpires of Indostan than the present, the disputes amongst the Mahrattas, the declaration in favour of Ragaboy, the wishes of Haidar to join us, the detachment you have ordered to proceed after the rains from Korah, and the assistance which may be given from hence by a junction with Haidar, will all contribute to the execution of one grand and general plan, which allow me to say, I think should not be neglected—Four or five battalions of seapoys might be raised here to supply the place of any sent out of the Carnatic, which being paid by Haidar increases our force without additional expence to the Company." [9] The expected opinion from Hastings on the subject, it seems, did not arrive. The matter was then pressed officially by the Government of Madras to the Supreme Council on the outbreak of war with France in July 1778. The Supreme Council had simultaneously approved of the idea of a treaty with Haidar

[7] *Ibid*, fo. 223 (*b*.)

[8] *Ibid*, ff. 221 (*b*), 222.

[9] Same to same, 25th April 1778.—*Idem*, ff. 310-11.

which however was not concluded because of the unwillingness of Bengal to enter into any engagement with Haidar that might draw away the Company's troops from the protection of the Carnatic.[10] Early in 1779 English projects against Mahè made the relations with Haidar very difficult. An embassy from Madras to Haidar's court was contemplated but no person seems to have been actually sent. Bengal duly received official intimation of these proceedings.[11] On the 23rd February, 1779, Rumbold in a private letter to Hastings dwelt on the hostile attitude of Haidar and the danger from him to the Carnatic, and remarked that the circumstances "will require the serious consideration of the Supreme Council, not only to afford us immediate supplies of cash, but to form some plan for assistance to the Carnatic in case of an invasion."[12] A month later Rumbold wrote again on the same topic suggesting that "measures must be taken for a junction of our troops on the Malabar coast from whence he may always be attacked with success."[13] This view was officially conveyed by the Madras government to Bengal in April 1779.[14] It seems, However, that the members of the Bengal government never made up their minds on the subject. It must be said to the credit of Rumbold that so far as these subject was concerned his attitude was throughout correct, because inspite of an apparently strong feeling in regard to the desirability of either treating with Haidar or attacking him effectually, he always waited for the sanction of Bengal.

It is perhaps not wrong to conclude that Rumbold was, up to July, 1779, honestly inclined to act on Hastings' opinions and to co-operate with the Supreme Council for the common well-being. Not long after his arrival he tried to make good on a point on which the previous government of Madras had given offence to the Supreme Council. "On my arrival here from

10 Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1.
11 *Ibid*, p. 63.
12 Rumbold to Hastings, 23rd March, 1779, Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. no. 29143, fo. 101.
13 Same to same, 26th March, 1779—*Idem*, fo. 159.
14 Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Europe, I found Mr. Whitehill and the Council had given a positive denial to the requisition of troops from hence, and had wrote to the Council General their sentiments on parting with any part of their force from the Carnatic at so critical a juncture, on receipt of your letter I prevailed on them to have a detachment formed ready in case of any further application, but this was done too late for them to proceed to Bombay immediately... I shall however keep everything ready to act on one general plan when advises arrive from your board....." [15] On the 12th March 1779, Rumbold wrote, " .....whatever plans you may adopt for the publick services shall meet with every assistance that you may require from this presidency." [16] Again, on the 26th March, 1779, he said, " ... ..whatever plan you may adopt in Bengal, a proper co-operation of the different presidencys must ensure success to it..... acting on one great line, and not by partial views, or to effect particular purposes, the united powers of Indostan would not be able to stand against us." [17] Much was written in similar strain during this period.

Up to July 1779, so far as our materials help us, every important subject was broached privately by Rumbold to Hastings, along with official information of them from Madras to Bengal, the governor general's opinion sought, and co-operation with the Supreme Council promised. When on the news of war between England and France, hostilities broke out between the representatives of those powers in this part of the world, Rumbold continually supplemented the official despatches by private information to Hastings regarding the activities of the Madras government against the French.[18] Again in December, 1778 Rumbold explained to Hastings the difficulty of obtaining money from the nawab of Arcot and the raja of Tanjore, and said, " We have

15 Rumbold to Hastings, 28th April, 1778.—Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. no. 29140, fo. 325 (*b*).

16 Same to same, 21st March 1779. *Idem*, 29143, fo. 139 (*b*).

17 Same to same, 26 March, 1779.—*Idem*, fo. 159 (*b*).

18 Same to same—6 July, 1 August, 28 August, 12 September, 27 September, and 18 October, 1778.—*Idem*, 29141, ff. 113 & 14, 207-08, 327, 399, 449, and 515 respectively.

wrote you a public letter of this date: I mean to the Council General and I wish you would be particular in your reply that during the present situation of affairs we may be justified in taking such measures as we find necessary..." [19] The difficulties created by the nawab of Arcot's debts, the "little politics" of those who surrounded him, and the dispute about Tanjore, often formed subjects of Rumbold's correspondence with Hastings.[20] On the last day of 1778 the Madras government sent to Bengal the copy of a proposed treaty with Basalat Jang. Rumbold backing this by private explanation to the Governor-General wrote, "...your former letters to this government authorised some steps being taken to get possession of it, [Guntur] but I am desirous of having your sentiments and approbation of every measure that makes an alteration in our political connections..." [21].

What appears to be a practically one-sided correspondence continued up to July, 1779. From the material before us, it seems that Hastings must have written about half a dozen times in all to Rumbold, the last of which in June, 1778. Complaints like the following are frequent;—"I have wrote you several letters but have not yet been favoured with an answer," [22] and then a spirit of resignation in these lines, "I look upon it in a publick light necessary to give you every the slightest information that comes to my knowledge whether my letters are favoured by being answered or not." [23] It seems that Rumbold's letters remained unanswered and he suddenly followed Hastings' example by practically ceasing to correspond after July, 1779. After that date there are four dry and short letters only, the first two of which are mere recommendations of certain gentlemen, and the remaining two inform the Governor General of ill health and medical advice to go home before the next hot weather.[24] During

19 Same to same, 5 December, 1778.—*Idem*, 29142, fo. 126.

20 *Idem*, 29140 ff. 219, (*b*) 220. and 29142, f. 124 and fo. 295.

21 Same to same, 3 January, 1779.—*Idem* 29142, fo. 296 (*b*).

22 Same to same, 24 May, 1778.—*Idem* 29140, fo. 444 (*b*).

23 Same to same, 28 June, 1779.—*Idem* 29, 143 fo. 419 (*b*).

24 *Idem*, 29144, ff, 6, 96, 112 and 153. The date of the last is 12 November, 1779.

the period of conflict between the presidencies commencing from October, 1779, when Bengal suddenly intervened in the Madras negotiations with the Nizam, there seems to have been no private correspondence between Rumbold and Hastings. Rumbold's letter of the 11th July, 1779, shows his disappointment of the hope that Hastings would confide his plans to him, and was perhaps the last offer of co-operation: "Fazel Beg Cawn... always furnished me with intelligence which I have found to be authentic. He has lately wrote to me very fully. I enclose you a translate of his letter. I am unacquainted with what plans you intend to pursue further than the determination to bring about a treaty with the Marathas, but the flight of Raganaut Row to Surat may probably induce your board to form some other resolution and the letter I now send you may furnish hints to improve on. I can only say that if in any part of the business you choose to place a confidence in me, I will execute it to the best of my judgment and agreeably to your wishes—you will oblige me by answering this letter as soon as possible that I may know what reply to give to Fazel Beg."[25]

The main lines of Rumbold's policy seem to have been an offensive and defensive alliance with Haidar to win him in the struggle against the Marathas, and effective action against the Nizam whose vacillating policy made him a difficult factor. It has been seen how he expected to receive Hastings' opinion on his suggestions relating to Haidar. Regarding the Nizam also he depended at the outset on Hastings to advise him privately. Thus Rumbold wrote, "The Nizam wants some check, he trifles with us on every occasion, and we are paying him a tribute of six lacs of rupees annually for taking every opportunity to act with our enemies. The Musterphernagar or Guntoor circar which reverts to the Company on the death of Bassaulut Jung endangers all our others...force formed there under Monsieur Lally...we may therefore too late repent that we have not taken the necessary precautions...I intend shortly to state fully this

[25] Same to same, 11 July, 1779.—*Idem*, 29, 143, ff. 457-58.

business to your board for their further sentiments—but I wait impatiently to hear from you on political matters, before I touch on them so publickly, as your long experience and abilities may correct any misinformation I may have received or opinions I may have formed, and at the same time it gives me an opportunity of assuring you how happy I am to communicate with you on every business concerning the publick welfare....'' [26] Again, '' We have two accounts from Poonah, one, that our troops with Ragaboy were near to that capital,—the other that there are great dissensions amongst the ministerial party, and that the majority are determined not to admit Ragaboy with the English troops,—Nizam Ally is said to have declared in favour of the majority and promised every assistance in his power—should that be the case we could soon make him alter his tone from hence.'' [27]

Rumbold's attitude towards the Nizam was undoubtedly insulting. But, for the development of the awkward situation of 1779-80, Hastings' reticence on the subjects referred to him was perhaps as much responsible as Rumbold's undue haste to act vigorously. The vague nature of the wording of the Regulating Act led Rumbold to question the powers of the Bengal government when they intervened, and it is difficult to say that Rumbold's interpretation of the letter of the Act was wrong, though some of the arguments with which he sought to justify his action were unsubstantial and his attitude towards Hollond vindictive.

Whatever type of man Rumbold might have been, it is difficult, with these letters before us, to believe that with a better arrangement than that created by the Regulating Act, he would have come to conflict with the Supreme Council. As to the existence of any definite bias in Hastings against Rumbold as a contributory factor in the quarrel, we are left in the realm of darkness.

A. P. Das Gupta

[26] Same to same, 25 April, 1778. *Idem*, 29 140 fo. 311.

[27] Same to same, 5 May, 1778. *Idem*, fo. 353.

# THE DYNAMIC IN ROUSSEAUISM

Rousseau, born in Geneva in Switzerland, June 28, 1712; died in France, July 2, 1772; led mostly a subterranean life till 1745, marked out as a writer on the political problems of the day. His 'Social Contract' embodying the principles of his political thoughts appeared in 1762. This book since then has been accepted as one of the world's few greatest works dealing with political philosophy and also as one containing truths of permanent value to mankind. The actual influence of Rousseau's thoughts on the modern nations has been examined in this paper in a spirit of historical enquiry. An attempt has also been made to show the all-comprehensive character of Rousseau's conceptions of the freedom of man; their deep-seated significance and their *proselytising*, albeit progressive, influence upon the political institutions of our times.

Born about a little more than two centuries ago, Rousseau, we believe, is still living. He was a great world figure,—a great servant of humanity and his appearance was but a timely accident in the history of the world and when in our times, the world is once more in a state of similar restlessness with the question of the rights of man in the forefront, one is but forced to confront this towering personality enjoying a continued existence, take courage from him and acknowledge with a compelling sense of gratitude his permanent contribution to the welfare of mankind. His 'Contract Social' which appeared in 1762 and was written in an antimonarchic spirit, was a direct appeal to 'man's universal desire for freedom.' The appeal set men's minds on fire; Rousseau did not survive the blaze, but the fire thus kindled kept on burning till now when the whole world seems to be in the conflagration of liberty.

His doctrines were formulated at a time when France was still passing through the middle ages; "when feudalism, despotism and other institutions of mediaevalism were not ousted from France," when society was being crushed between power and superstition, and the conditions of social life in Europe were governed by a helpless sense of fatalism. Rousseau wanted to revolt against these "unnatural forces" and he was

astonishingly successful. Rousseau's psychology as embodied in his doctrines has been characterised as false and his logic illogical, but even then his supreme attempt to plead that government is a concern of the governed and is based on their consent, either express or implied, has been found to be a real drive to truth,—a truth which is at once natural and universal.

Rousseau and the French Revolution.

Rousseau's France, as has been already pointed out, was a middle-age France. Despotism was natural with the people and they worshipped it. There was no constitution; no national assembly; no responsible government; no freedom of speech; none of worship and so on. Kings, it was believed, inherited the people as if they were flocks and herds. The king wished to be the king of the French and not of France and the boast of Louis XIV '*Le etat c'est moi*'—'I am the state' was not a mere fiction of royal power. The immensity of despotism can be measured from the fact that although there was an Estates General in France—an assembly of three estates: clergy, nobility and the people—it never met in the period 1614-1789, *i.e.*, a period covering about two centuries, simply for the reason that the king did not like that it should meet.

Rousseau was intolerant at this outrage upon the rights of humanity and declared impatiently "a man is born free and yet in chains everywhere." He worked out a series of mysterious propositions on this belief, in which one can unravel the single desire to uphold the rights of man. "Man! Man in his high and only title and a higher cannot be given him." This was Rousseau's man of whom Thomas Paine so spoke in his 'Rights of Man.' Rousseau has been called the Father of the French Revolution. Although the statement is an inflated truth, it is truth no doubt, inasmuch as many of the puzzles of the Revolution can be explained only on a thorough understanding of Rousseau. Liberty, equality and fraternity which were non-existent in pre-Revolutionary France and became the watch-words of the people on the eve of the Revolution, had been

definitely hinted at by Rousseau. 'The Declaration of the Rights of Man' was a complete triumph of Rousseauism.

During the next one and half a century France passed through all possible forms of government, serving as a bed of political experiments for the whole of Europe, but she never got off from the impact of Rousseauism. In the present republican government of France, which is more than 50 years old, although legal sovereignty resides with National Assembly, the political sovereignty remains permanently with the people. Rousseauism has finally come here to stay.

Rousseau and the contemporary Europe.

In the 17th and the 18th centuries, Europe was occupied by two great factors, government and the people. The idea of the king as the protector of public order and justice changed European society from a series of classes into a group of centralised states. France was united to force and nothing could arrest this march of centralisation. It is interesting to discover how the wondering multitude were cheated of their liberty in worshipping this invention. Louis XI in France, Tudors in England, Ferdinand in Spain and the House of Austria in Germany, all had succeeded in completely rounding up the people under their absolute rule. Rousseau was born in this age of fetters. The spiritual revolt which accompanied the Reformation and the intellectual revolution that accompanied the Renaissance, were slowly preparing people's minds towards the great political revolt which was to follow. Thought once emancipated, was not content with one class of objective only, and spiritual and temporal absolutism both came in for systematic attacks from the Reformers.

England was the first country to feel and answer the shock and she plunged headlong into the struggle that was raging on the Continent between the principle of despotism and the principle of freedom. England had already her institutions like Parliament, charter, precedents, etc., which the continental countries lacked; so, aspirations after civil liberty which quickly materialised there in the wake of the emancipation of thought, led to no immediate

result on the Continent. But there was the influence of France. During the 18th century, French thought was the most active and potent in Europe and it was unboundedly free thought. Despotism was brought face to face with a society in which free examination and free speculation had been carried to lengths never imagined before.

Rousseau, eccentric but brilliant with the genius of a Socrates, discerned and exclaimed—"I think, I can solve the problem—what is it that legitimatised the subjection to government?" There are differences of opinion whether he could redeem himself or not, but that the literary inspiration of his contribution was one of the most tremendous events in history, is a fact. The Academy of Dijon offered a prize for an essay on "the effect of the progress of civilization on morals" and he developed his famous paradox of the superiority of the savage state and won the prize. In 1762 appeared his 'Contract Social' which took the artificial and Cootchety Society by storm and was discussed with wide interest by millions of hungry souls who used it as a lever to unfold the gates of freedom. The unreality of its hypotheses and the fantastic character of its arguments were all either forgotten or neglected and the whole world was getting into the conviction that sovereignty being the 'general will,' cannot be alienated and the sovereign which is simply a collective being cannot be represented save by itself; that it may transfer its power but not its will; that a law is simply an expression of the general will and that the government is an agent set up to serve the directions of the general will which is entitled to obedience only.'[1] All these are outpourings of a sincere heart which rebelled to see men all round it in fetters and determined to take them off. Like all great martyrs to the cause of truth, he suffered from misunderstandings, ununderstandings and over-understandings.

[1] The Social Contract, Bk. II, Chs. I, II, III, VI.
Do., Bk. III, Ch. I.
Do., Bk. IV, Ch. I.

The universal in him however survived and was steadily getting into acceptance. Rousseau died in 1772 and Bastille was attacked in 1789. "Had there been no Rousseau, there would have been no French Revolution," so said Bonaparte. It is difficult to challange this statement successfully.

"With the Revolution the age of Reason dawned," wrote Thomas Paine in his Rights of Man, and he further asserted that "when another nation would join France despotism and bad government would scarcely dare to appear." The mass was awakened and the untrammelled human spirit that was let loose by the Revolution at the first taste of liberty, made all European monarchists nervous and Burke's attack of it was hailed with relief all over Europe as a noble attack upon a false conception of liberty. We will not argue here whether the Burke of 1774 and the Burke of 1789 are two different persons or not but that the wonderful modern France has largely falsified his predictions is true.

However, Rousseau and all that stood for Rousseauism was attacked from all sides by an army of intellectuals in Europe and Rousseauism seemed past all hopes. But despite these interested observations and inspite of all the inconsistencies with which his theory is built, what he conceived of the character of the sovereign power and the laws of government and its basis as ideals in society remained essentially true. Rousseau could not be killed. It has been remarked that his ghost still dances over the constitution of Europe and we believe that it does. Neither the rise of the historical school nor the subtle discussion of German metaphysics could kill the spirit. McKechnie observes "to maintain that all men ought to have a share in moulding the form of the constitution of a state, is a logical and intelligible position."[1] The supremecy of the 'general will' which Rousseau discovered in the state and felt at heart as a self-evident truth, was just in the excess of

1 The State and the Individual, p. 67

his enthusiasm expressed in an ill-regulated way, but that his discovery was sanctioned by the awakened universal conscience as of permanent value and that his philanthropy was wise, was proved beyond doubt by the events in history.

Rousseau and the American Revolution.

The history of political progress of nations all over the world whether old or new is a history of gradual assertion of power by the people, *i.e.* by the many over the few. The movement has been uniformly centrifugal. Of the few great leaders of thought that appeared in different times of the world crisis and were mainly responsible for the social evolution underlying the modern progress, Rousseau is one, in the opinion of Prof. McDougal[1] and "the ground was prepared," he says, "for the reception of teachings of such men by the conflicts of men who desired nothing of tolerance, equality and liberty." Thus discussion only exposed the brightness of their sympathy for the suffering humanity and their devotion to truth with a searching heart.

The war of Independence in America and the Revolution in France are two most remarkable events in history almost similar in magnitude and importance which happened one after another in close succession in less than a decade and a half in the latter half of the 18th century. If the Revolution came thoroughly under the inspiration of Rousseau, the war of Independence could not altogether escape his influence. The claims of Britain to tax the colony were first repudiated in May, 1765, and the "Declaration of Independence" was signed in July, 1776. The repeal of the fatal Stamp Act in 1766 which synchronised with the year of Rousseau's forced landing in England, was however too late a measure to suppress the growing political consciousness of the Colonists. Rousseau, who was however being all along honoured and discussed while in London, grew 'intolerant of attention,' quarrelled with Hume and left for France in 1767.

[1] Group Mind, p. 294.

Although it was the objectionable Stamp Act and not the objectionable Rousseau that set the minds of the Colonists on fire, yet the Declarations by the Americans on the eve of the War of Independence proclaiming "liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" consciously or unconsciously got on the lines of, and was in complete agreement with, the beliefs of Rousseau. The Declaration in affirming that "God made all men naturally equal; that Ideas of earthly superiority are educational and not innate; that kings were made for the good of the people and not the people for them and that no government has a right to make slaves of its subjects" seemed only to reaffirm the rights of humanity so uniquely conceived but imperfectly communicated by Rousseau in his immortal 'Contract Social.'

The American political life was essentially English and the enquiring English mind, free from the immediate influence of monarchy, did not like to continue any longer to live under a republic in disguise. The constitution which followed in 1787 modified by American experience never failed to accept, amongst other ensuing provisions to preserve the hard-earned freedom of the people, that great starting 'principle of equality' regarding the 'Sates' too in the government of the union. The American Civil War was a distinct triumph of democracy over aristocracy. Since then America has been faithful to her ideal of liberty and equality and whenever absolutism in any shape tried to assert itself as it was in the case of the victorious Republicans after the American Civil War, it faded away in the twilight of the metaphysical discussion of 'the natural rights of man.'

The nations in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The absolutely original intellectual proposition of Rousseau that 'all men are born free but in chains everywhere' contained in it the dynamic of a political as well as a social revolution. Although in attacking, criticising and rejecting the settled beliefs of the day regarding the conceptions of relations of men and peoples, Rousseau was passionately political in his discourses,

Rousseauism stands both for an emancipation from political as well as social bondage. He believed in no other inequality of men except that 'in strength and talent' which means when rightly interpreted that social and political liberty must go hand in hand together. Both absolutism and feudalism were condemned as unnatural—the former as it claimed the absolute supremacy of the state and the latter as it pulverized the existing society into hundreds of small unequal orders. Rousseau's was indeed a work of deliverance from soulless custom and age-long prejudice. His man is essentially a free man—free from all political and social perversities.

England.

By his 'Reflections,' Burke perhaps did more to provoke the mass political consciousness in England than to fortify all that was noble in conservatism there. The abstract theory of Rousseau was successfully attacked, but all that Rousseauism stood for remained practically unhurt. Paine's 'Rights of Man' was an open-hearted challenge to Burke and proved that Rousseau and the spirit of revolution were already there. It became virtually the gospel of the English radicals of the age. The English civilisation, however widely differed from the continental one. On the Continent only one element was strong at a time until it was overthrown whereas in England, if one element was strong at a time, others were not less so. The crown, the nobles and the commons were all sensitive to their rights. The English crown and the English nobility however began to suffer from occasional fits of want of self-confidence. The commons were growing stronger in the meantime at the expense of their rivals, until they were completely thrown in the background and suffered to continue as mere silhouettes in the present constitution of England.

The Government in England prior to 1832 was representative in theory alone. The movement for a reform of the suffrage began as early as 1775, *i.e.*, only three years after Rousseau's death but suffered a temporary check by the excess of the French

Revolution. The Reformers however had to wait for a change in the national temper and inspite of the peers and the absolutists, the great Reform Act of 1832 went into the statute book. The growth of democracy since then has been steady and strong and in course of less than a century the cycle is almost complete. The Acts of 1867, 1885, 1911 and 1918 made the people, the supreme controlling power in the state. A revolution in the spirit of the English constitution was thus accomplished and Cæsar got back things that were his. Bagehot's[1] panegyric on the power of the Crown in England is sublime, but full of pathos. The excellence of the English constitution, it has been said, is its unreality,[2] nowhere is it more true than it is in the case of her Crown.

Rousseau who had observed the English political life more than half a century before the great Reform Act was passed, was pained to see that neither the House of Commons nor the Government was truly a people's concern there. The one was not representative and the other was not responsible. It was but natural for him then whose heart was on fire, to remark that English people were not a free people.[3] Rousseau who came to England in 1766 to avoid persecution at home was however "lionised there to his heart's content and discontent" and Rousseau who wanted a temporary asylum there to protect his skin, was given once for all a permanent resting place in the hearts of the English people. The *rationale* of his conception of Government as based on will and not on force has been fully accepted and one sees the grip of Rousseauism only tighter with the advancing march of democracy in England to-day.

Germany.

The spirit of the Revolution which permanently possessed the French minds and ended in finally overthrowing the monarchy in France in 1848, sent its echoes in Germany. The German liberals took a leaf

[1] The English Constitution, Introduction, p. xxxviii.
[2] Dicey, The Law of the Constitution, p. 7.
[3] The Social Contract, Bk. III, Ch. XV.

from the success of the French Republicans and made a definite attempt to liberalize the Government and called a pan-German Congress with members elected by manhood suffrage from all the states of the confederation to draft a new German constitution on a definite democratic basis. The attempt however failed but the debate which was started there over an enquiry on the "rights of man and the fundamentals of Government"[1] was carried over to the present century, when it was finally wound up and answered by the overthrow of the Hohenzollern empire in 1918.

The old Imperial Germany, which began as a mixed Government and ended in a full military despotism, on the eve of the War, was no longer based even on the implied consent of the people. The Social Democrats, demanding restoration of popular element in the Government, succeeded at last in wringing out a promise from the Emperor in 1908 to give the people back their rightful dues. This, however, was not redeemed and the inevitable happened. The Weimar constitution promulgated on August, 11, 1919, declares that the power of the state is derived from the people and that all privileges of birth, class or creed are henceforth abolished. The influence of France and America is remarkably visible all through the constitution of the new commonwealth, and if that suggests the spirit of Rousseau working unseen, we should give to it our full attention that it so rightly deserves.

Russia.

The Czarist regime in Russia had stayed there much longer than it was expected and its collapse was so natural and irresistible that it was accepted only as a coming fact. The main reason for its belated conversion to the principles of popular Government was that it remained virtually outside the orbit of the European civilization till as late as the first half of the 19th century. 'The wave of democracy which swept over Western Europe during the year

[1] Munro, Governments of Europe, p. 590, Ch. XXXI.

1848,' he says Munro, ..... 'had no influence upon Russia at all.'[1] A backward civilisation strengthened by an oriental tradition kept Russia altogether indifferent, either to the call of 1789 or to that of 1848. Democracy, however, was knocking at the door, and the liberal movement, started in a loose half-hearted way by the beginning of the latter half of the 19th century, was rapidly concentrating by its close. The war with Japan resulting in national humiliation excited the Democrats so much for a thorough overhaul of the constitution that autocracy became alarmed. It is said that 'liberty when it begins to take root is a plant of rapid growth.' This has proved wonderfully true in the case of Russia. Concessions were made in quick succession to the people, whose restlessness however came to stay under an awakened sense of political consciousness till the goal was reached. The war precipitated it. With the March Revolution, 1917, autocracy ceased in Russia and with the November Revolution nine months later, sovereignty completely passed into the hands of the people.

Human nature itself cannot do without subordination but there should be order without inverted commas. That was the idea of the Russian revolutionaries. The post-Revolutionary Russia has been essentially a Russian's Russia. An attempt has been made in the constitution to make the voice of the people really effective in the government by giving representation to real groups with a common purpose in the All-Russian Congress. This is indeed a definitely better move towards the securing of the 'general will' in the governance of the state than any one as yet followed in the most of the modern representative institutions all over the world. Although in reshaping the economic constitution of the country following the Revolution, the influence of Karl Marx is pronounced and undeniable, on the social side of the Revolution, the resurrection of Rousseau is complete.

[1] Governments of Europe, Ch. XXXVII, p. 724.

Switzerland.

The mountain-girt country of Switzerland, the country of Rousseau's birth, was a democracy by virtue of necessity long before Rousseau came out with his theory of sovereignty and government before the oppressed millions of the Continent. The Helvetic Republic, which came however under the control of France immediately after the Revolution and was set free and granted home rule once more by the Congress of Vienna, upon the close of Napoleonic wars, passed automatically through Rousseau's sphere of influence during the interregnum. The Swiss were busy in drafting a constitution after the civil war in 1848, making liberal provisions for and extending adequate protection to the rights of minorities in the constitution. For a government which was already a democracy this was certainly a recognition of the ' general will ' as the ultimate sovereign body in the constitution. The constitution which was revised in 1874, made ample provisions in the series of written articles, making it clear to the people that it was really a government by themselves, of themselves and for themselves.

The underlying principle of the Initiative and the Referendum in the Swiss constitution seemed to approve of Rousseau's conception of sovereignty as inalienable and also unascertainable by representation—that it was either itself or something else. In the functioning of the Initiative and the Referendum, in some of the Cantonal Councils indeed no law would be operative until the people could accept it at the polls or in other words Rousseau's " law not ratified by the people is no law at all " was made a motto.[1]

The Swiss people, whether in the case of federal government or in the case of Cantonal Governments, have shown in most places a remarkable similarity with Rousseau's ideal of

[1] Bryce however argues that Rousseau was influenced in his conception of a truly popular government by the recollections of his own city as he must have accompanied his father as a child to the General Assembly where citizens voted on the laws.

Modern Democracy, Vol. II, p. 416.

government. Although there are many accidental considerations, such as the situation of the country, area, population, national history and aptitudes, etc., accelerating the pace of democracy there yet it can be reasonably inferred that with the rise of Rousseauism on the Continent following the Revolution, 'man' was everywhere re-examining his position in reference to his government, however free, half-free or un-free he was.

Italy.

Italy like England is a limited monarchy but a veiled democracy. The power of the people over the government has been steady and continuous since 1848 when the present constitution was granted to them. The modern Italian parliament even does not venture to override any of its articles unless a direct mandate from the people indicates such a sanction. The Italian Senate which is a brilliant gathering of the most gifted of Italy's sons, follows but does not lead the people there. The system of interpellation in the legislature which is a French patent to keep the government in form as the trustee of the nation, has found a permanent place in the Italian constitution. The dictatorship of Mussolini which is based on extreme form of Italian nationalism again recently suffered an organised popular opposition over the question of unproportional representation. This only conclusively proves that the people everywhere have thoroughly realised that the final decision in matters affecting 'the common good' rests with them and that they collectively expressing 'the general will' constitute the only permanent dictator within the state.

The world has moved steadily forward in his belief since the martyrdom of Rousseau. A desire for liberty and equality as the birthrights of man has forced the few to transfer their power to the many. Political experiments of various types such as the Referendum in Switzerland and in America, the Baden system of election in the post-war Germany, the proportional representation in Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, the unproportional representation in Italy and the vocational system of representation in the socialistic Russia, have all been worked

out in an earnest and sincere attempt to discover what the real will of the people is, so that government may rest, as far as practicable, immediately on the consent of the governed. On the Continent the desire has gone deep into the hearts of the people while in the East complete popular control in the national governments in some of these countries and an irresistible demand for the right of self-determination in others show that the task of the Prophet of democracy is very near completion.

Rousseau and nationalism.

Rousseau is international but Rousseauism is not. It is distinctly national rather than international. There has been an unending discussion over the import of the concept of ' general will ' discovered by Rousseau, which corresponds to the sovereignty in the state and is exercised for the common good only. ' The general will is always in the right,' says Rousseau ' but the judgment which guides it is not always enlightened.'[1] Rousseau certainly did not explain clearly if the ' common good ' he referred to, was ' the good of all,' or the good of the whole, a very subtle psychological distinction pointed out by McDougal and that had escaped the heated brain of the great apostle of liberty. In McDougal's opinion " the will of all for the good of all, would have reference only to the immediate future, whereas the will of all for the good of the whole would have reference to the remote future.....because it has an infinitely long future before it and a part to play through infinitely long periods of time as a factor in the general welfare and the progress of mankind.[2] Thus, where the ideal of ' the good of all ' and the ideal of 'the good of the whole ' coincide, there the national and international ideals harmonise and truly national or general will is directed towards the common good of humanity. This is really the ideal of nationhood. Rousseau's sovereign, representing the general will from the mere fact of its existence, is always all that it ought to be," says Green.[3] Nationalism is to the ideal nationhood what

[1] The Social Contract, Book II. Chapter VI. [2] Group Mind, p. 171.
[3] Pol. Obligation, p. 81.

bigotry is to religion—the degradation of a lofty idea. Rousseau never preached nationalism in this degraded sense of the ideal. McDougal, however, illustrates this distinction by making reference to the choice of Belgium in the last Great War to fight with the allies against Germany. It was a choice for the good for the whole in preference to the good of all. On the opposite extreme again, the choice of Russia to adopt a communistic government has been a choice for the good of all and not for the good of the whole.[1] It is clear therefore that by carrying out a programme for the good of the whole, the general will automatically serves the good of all but not *vice versâ*.

It is doubtful, however, if Rousseau had suffered much under such psycho-analysis of his conception of the general will. By maintaining that a law is an expression of the general will and that only the general will can direct the forces of the state to-wards the aim of its institution which is the common good, Rousseau certainly laid down a universal proposition of permanent value embodying the much coveted truth so tersely phrased by Green as that " will and not force is the basis of the state,"[2] Direct or implied, this will must be there. His ideals of liberty and equality also here effectively brought out the equally alluring truths, that they are no body's monopoly in the state but everybody's natural possessions. However unshaped his propositions might be, they contained in them the dynamic of universal truths and gave a start to self-examination by all the sovereign and non-soverign political communities in the civilized world. Nationalism based upon such ideals cannot be an evil in itself and can never be, if properly understood, in conflict with the ideal of nationhood. The common good cannot be a limited conception, yet it must begin with conscious attachment to a definite group, and the highest of all human groups affected directly by the idea of common good is the state. The universal republic was not in contemplation of Rousseau and ' man ' was addressed to

[1] *Ibid*, p. 172.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 121.

reason intellectually to review his position only as member of a nation and in direct reference to it when he was told that he was born free.[1]

Rousseauism is thus capable of infinite expansion though in itself it is limited in its conception. The British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society or the Kellog Pact to reduce war between nations to a minimum to secure more national freedom are as much expansions of Rousseauism as the French and Russian Revolutions to take off agelong fetters of the people and set them free are its normal applications. The influence, however, upon individual national lives has been marvellously more quick and complete than upon any international organisations, because it is here that Rousseauism in the abstract and Rousseauism in the concrete most perfectly harmonise.

Beginning with the Declaration of Independence in America and the Revolution in France in the latter half of the 18th century, all through our times, the inspiring ideals of Rousseau, so effectively set forth in his conception of liberty, equality and sovereignty of the general will, with all their necessary corollaries, have persisted in bringing about enduring changes in the political and social lives of the people in different countries of the world. The post-war bid for freedom in various degrees by almost all nations, both great and small, in Europe, America and in the Far and Near East, is indeed a striking illustration of their complete acceptance of these ideals as national possessions of people under all forms of government. The modern man is so fully under the influence of these conceptions of rights, that his desire to be set free at any cost even for uncertain gains morally ensures his obedience to any government not really his

[1] 'The good of the whole" as McDougal explained it, might or might not have troubled the eccentric Rousseau in his discussion on general will, but it is an intelligible position to adopt that if the real 'good of all ' collectively be the immediate and future ideal towards which ' the general will ' should direct itself, it being always right according to Rousseau, then the ' good of all ' in the inevitable intellectualisation of the sense of ' common good ' in the general will, is bound to fall in with the conception of ' the good of the whole ' however broad and deep it may be.

own. Dismemberment of poly-national states, really based on reason and expediency has its root embedded sometimes in this unctuously inelastic interpretation of Rousseauism. The much advanced struggle for Irish independence and the lurking discontent of the Scotch to the set of the union are excellent examples of it. Rousseau's teachings, as have been already pointed out, draw upon man's universal desire for freedom. The Social Contract theory, as an historical explanation of the origin of the society ; is a work of pure imagination but as a rational principle on which all human organisations ought to be placed, is of infinite importance for the progress of humanity. The concrete nation-state or the discrete League of Nations has equally developed upon a conscious recognition of this principle. By assuring that 'man is born free' Rousseau strengthened the cause of freedom for nation also as an organism. The League, whose object is to warrant and secure such freedom for nations as distinct personalities in the commonwealth of nations, very happily explains the character of Rousseau's ideal of freedom. The legitimacy of man's subjection to government is fully justified in this ideal. The freedom of man as a reasoning individual and the freedom of nation as an organic institution composed of those individuals ought to be reconciled as perfectly as possible in this process of subjection. The unity of consent is, however, more homogeneous and real in the case of national government owing to the nature of parties concerned than in the case of the League government which represents more or less fundamentally different types of associations. Rousseau's reference to 'common good' as the aim of the state and enforcible only by 'the general will' shows that his conception of freedom is elastic enough to be interpreted in the light of the increasing sense of responsibility of man.

He however left an open field for enquiry as to how this inevitable reconciliation between the freedom of the collective life of the society and that of the life of the individual within it should take place and be best reflected as a contractual

union in the government. From the Referendum in Switzerland and the vocational system of representation in the Soviet Russia on to the various methods of representation in different parliamentary governments of the world they can all be said to be experiments as yet unsatisfactory to make the ideal of Rousseau a living fact in politics, to definitely solve the eternal problem of relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

Rousseau and some of the political problems of the day.

The modern freedom movement of the world, like the great Revolution of 1789, can be said to have definitely started under the aegis of Rousseauism. In a century and a half following examples in America and in France, the two earliest converts to Rousseauism, most of the existing nations have emerged from either external or internal despotism by working on the thoughts of Rousseau and carrying a conviction in their heart of hearts, of freedom as the birthright of man and sovereignty the inalienable possession of the people. 'The conception of the equality,' writes Davies, 'could not fail to strengthen and promote such movements as those for the removal of religious restrictions and for the abolition of slavery.'[1] It is immaterial to our discussion to discover how far Rousseau had borrowed either from the Law of Nature of the Roman jurists or from Hobbes and Locke in his charter of freedom to mankind, but that he completely superseded them all in his original and immortal conceptions of a general will as the sovereign power within the state and of the ideal of relationship of man with his government, is a fact which has been accepted both by reason and experience in history.

Monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, according to Rousseau, are mere forms of government between 'people' as subjects and 'people' as sovereign, set up as intermediary bodies for their mutual correspondence and the execution of sovereign people's will only as its minister and not as its master. In a world full of

[1] Outline History of the World, p. 450.

social inequality and oppression and at the same time governed by a system consecrated by custom and history, this was like a piece of bread offered to a hungry soul, which was at once seized and properly despatched without much ceremony and with little hesitation. It was natural that there would be difficulty and uneasiness in swallowing it up all without pause, but that it was bread there was absolutely no doubt about it either by touch or by taste. Political demolition and reconstruction proceeded on the ideals of Rousseau as living faiths and mankind has never been a loser on final reckoning in the march of progress by attempting to work up to these ideals, to place the political institutions in their proper settings in society.

Modern socialism is in favour of increasing governmental control—not to strengthen the hands of government against individuals, but upon a belief that the individual would enjoy more real freedom under it than he was hitherto having under any form of government. The explanation of social order given by Rousseau in his inimitable theory would lend support to modern socialistic leanings of the state. Rousseau made 'general will' the supreme force in society. The surrender of the individual to the community was complete with Rousseau, being conditional only upon equal mutual surrender by all others in order that he might live more freely. The natural man, according to him, was lost beyond recovery in the abyss of fatal revolution following upon the invention of property and an attempt was made by him to give back to man as far as possible a *fac-simile* of his former independence by making him completely dependent upon the community and his will upon the will of the union. This leads us to think that the modern socialistic conception of the state as a "fraternal co-operative commonwealth" was not at a very great distance from Rousseau's conception of the state as a collective body aiming for the common good under the sovereign will of the whole.

Modern socialism has for its programme a maximum of common interest for the people, both political and economic,

although its frequent attention towards economic considerations at times completely overshadows the political and makes them subserve its economic ends. Rousseauism, however, is predominantly a political cult. It cannot be consistently brought into imagination that Rousseau, born in the midst of a notorious social and economic inequality and oppression, was not influenced by economic considerations to dogmatise his philosophy of political freedom of man. Economic freedom follows political freedom, and as late as the 18th century, Economics was regarded as a branch of statesmanship. Rousseau, though heated with the fire of liberty to see the political sufferings of mankind, must have begun at the right end of the social reconstruction. 'Talent and strength excepted,' Rousseau urges, 'men are all made equal by convention and right.' It is here that one can find in Rousseauism a sanction for the modern socialistic crusade against inequality of power and property in the state.

Rousseau could not reconcile himself to a representative democracy as he believed that 'will is not ascertainable by representation.'[1] It is true that Rousseau was incorrigible in his belief but, in the modern country-state, does representation satisfy the people? Are they content with such a form of Government, and do they feel that the national legislature is a mirror of national will? Garner observes: "recent years have seen the growth of popular dissatisfaction with the representative system and a demand for more direct participation of the masses in the Government particularly in the legislative function." [2]

Godkin also declares that the representative system, after a century of existence under a very extended suffrage has failed to satisfy the expectation of its early promoters and is likely to make way in turn for the more direct action of the people on the most important questions of the government.[3]

[1] *Ibid*, Bk. III, Ch. XV.
[2] Political Science, p. 230.
[3] Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy, p. 144.

Rousseau appeared to be too much exacting when he declared "that a law not ratified by people in person is no law at all."[1] But his idea about the English people's freedom has been found to be more or less amazingly true of all the people living under representative forms of Government in modern times. The fact is that the distinction between the state and the Government was made to rest in theory alone while in practice the state was made to surrender to the Government. The people, however, with increasing political self-consciousness discovered their real position in relation to Government, resented it and evinced an anxiety to stand by the warning of Rousseau that it cannot be represented save by itself and that it may transfer its power but not its will.[2] The people, thus dissatisfied with the periodic recognition of their sovereign power—only during times of election, set up a variety of new institutions such as the Referendum, the Recall, the Initiative, etc., to express unequivocally their inherent right to be obeyed. These are the new forms of direct democracy which Rousseau could only anticipate. "Without a system of direct representation," says Nitti, "we cannot imagine a Government as the sincere expression of the popular will enjoying the country's confidence. But how to organise parliament is the great problem of modern democracy."[3]

Although Rousseau had no faith in representative institutions, he was wise enough not to insist on unanimity in legislative measures brought in for discussion in the popular assembly.

[1] *Ibid*, Bk. III, Ch. XV.

[2] In Rousseau's time representation was a mockery wherever it existed. The origin of representation further being unholy, *i.e.*, "from feudal government which was an iniquitous and absurd system degrading humanity and dishonouring the name of man" (Social Contract, Bk. III, Ch. V). Rousseau could not believe in its efficiency in any form. "Nor indeed is it," says G. D. H. Cole (Introduction to the Social Contract, p. xxviii), "even in the modern world, so satisfactory an instrument of the popular will that we can afford wholly to discard his criticism. It is one of the problems of the day to find some means of securing effective popular control over a weakened Parliament and a despotic Cabinet."

[3] Fascism, Bolshevism and Democracy, p. 195.

As evidently that was impracticable he maintained that in the assemblies of the people, 'the voice of the majority should prevail.' This might appear as a tyranny of the majority over the minority and inconsistent with Rousseau's proposition of freedom of man. But Rousseau replied, "when a law is proposed in the popular assembly, the question put is not precisely whether the citizens approve or disapprove of it, but whether it conforms or not to the general will. The minority then simply have it proved to them that they estimated the general will wrongly. 'Once it is declared,' Rousseau exhorted the minority,...'they are as citizens participants in it and as subjects they must obey it.'"[1] Rousseau clearly pointed out here how a man could be free and at the same time submit to laws to which he had not consented. Thus Rousseau touched one of the most vexing problems of modern Governments, *viz.*, the problem of the rights of minorities and the proposition which he laid down to help the minorities out of difficulties, continues to be the only solution and hope for them in all representative governments of our times. Thus David Ritchie says: "the all-important essential right of the minorities is the right to turn themselves into majorities if they can. They should peaceably agitate till they triumph, otherwise yield loyal obedience."[2] Rousseau's idea finds further light from McDougal when he says, "It is working of the national spirit and the acceptance and devotion to the national organisation which render the submission of the minority to the means chosen by the majority, a voluntary submission; for it is the essence of that organisation that while all accept and will the same most general end namely the welfare of the whole, the choice of means must be determined by the judgment of the majority, formed and expressed as a collective judgment and opinion by way of all the many channels of reciprocal influence that the national organisation both formal and informal provides."[3] The

[1] *Ibid*, Bk. IV, Ch. II.

[2] Darwin and Hegel; essay on the 'Rights of Minorities.'

[3] *Ibid*, p. 173.

point is illustrated: "A large minority may be against war for reasons which to them may seem to be of the highest kind; it may be that they judge the nation to be morally in the wrong in the matter in dispute or very questionably in the right, as many Englishmen did during the Boer War; and yet if by the accepted organised channels of national deliberation and decision war has been declared, then although, it was their duty to do what they could to make their opinion prevail before the decision was reached, there is no moral inconsistency in their supporting the war measures with all their strength." [1]

Rousseau appears in the light of all these explanations as very much abstract and exacting in his interpretation of freedom but yet in practice in all true governments of our times, based on the consent of the governed, this idea of the unity of a free citizen and a loyal subject in one and the same individual, is playing a highly valuable part in widening the sphere of freedom and also bringing the two wings of a nation, the majority and the minority, to work together in perfect harmony for the 'good of the whole.' It is fair to suggest here that there is a definitely suppressed reference to the inevitable party government with a moral for it also in these observations of Rousseau.

Conclusion.

Rousseau thus touched most of the modern problems of democracy in building up his theory of freedom as the birthright of man. Although Rousseau concentrated his whole genius in spinning out only closely relevant arguments to justify his eminently intellectual conceptions of liberty and equality of man and sovereignty of the general will, Rousseauism remains sympathetic with all modern movements, the ends of which profess, in very different degrees, the attainment of this right of man. Rousseau's love for freedom is like Mazzini's who is said to have exclaimed—'I love freedom, perhaps I love it better than I love my country.' It is a lofty idea and is free from all taints of gross nationalism. Rousseauism

[1] *Ibid*, p. 174.

pins its faith in democracy, not for what it is, but for what it may be used to win for the masses. 'Were there a people of gods,' says Rousseau, 'their government would be democratic.'[1] The moral, as well as the intellectual nature of his belief has made it since then accepted by Universal conscience. "Given the kind of communal spirit which Rousseau expected," says Bryce, "given the kind of fraternally religious spirit which Mazzini and the enthusiasts of his time expected, self-government having the 'moral' forces behind it, would be a comparatively simple matter living on by its unquestioned merits."[2] When war was declared there were 21 Monarchies and only 3 Republics all over the world and the proportion of population was 6 to 1. Now there are 11 Monarchies and 16 Republics and the proportion is 1 to 2. People are now completely in the grip of the truth that as yet there is no better substitute conceivable for democracy.

There cannot be of course any finality with regard to any human institution which will serve its purpose once for all—which is 'the common good'—but whatever form it may take it must find itself stimulated by a sense of duty to its members, both individually and collectively, to act upon the ideals of Rousseau to achieve that end. The past is repeating itself, but it is a mistake to confuse the past with the future. Throughout the course of history, Rousseauism has continued to be a living force and its progress has been as much through absorption as through conciliation. "This new philosophy," says Cole, "is the work of the future; but rooted upon the conception of Rousseau —it will stretch far back into the past. Of our time, it will be for all time; its solutions will be at once relatively permanent and ceaselessly progressive."[3]

D. N. SENGUPTA

[1] *Ibid*, Bk. III, Ch. IV.

[2] Modern Democracy, Vol. II, p. 666. [3] Introduction to Social Contract, p. xli.

# THE CAREER OF DAME MARY SCHARLIEB

## HER REMARKABLE WORK IN INDIA AND AT HOME.

### *Medical Status.*

The Round Table Conference on India, and a few paragraphs now and then in the papers concerning the condition of Dame Mary Scharlieb, reminded one of the hidden ministries to India of which few hear, but out of which, more than out of aught else, has been born whatever confidence India has in the true beneficence of England at her best. And, assuredly, Dr. Scharlieb represented England at her best, and contributed to the future of England and India. This is what the gracious lady who has just died, once did in early days.

Born in London, motherless from birth, she was brought up by devoted relatives, meeting, after leaving boarding school, a law student of the Middle Temple, Mr. Scharlieb. Directly they were married they went together to India.

There the young woman, who was possessed of a deep sympathy and power of intuition, was overcome with horror over the suffering endured by Hindu and Mohammedan women. She felt a call to help them—a call which was not appreciated by the medical authorities, who did their best to overcome it. But she stood firm, and was finally permitted to work in the Lying-in Hospital in Madras. There, without assistance, and in the teeth of opposition, she began to study for her medical degree. It was very difficult, too, because she was by this time the mother of three children. Yet, after three years of unceasing labour, in hospital and out, she received from the Madras Medical College her Licentiate of Medicine, Surgery a

Midwifery. She then came to England to take the final M.B. and Bachelor of Surgery degrees; went to Vienna and then back to Madras. There she managed, again in the teeth of opposition, to found a hospital exclusively for caste Hindus, Gosha and Mohammedan ladies, of which she took charge.

But she was over-working. Not only had she charge of the hospital, but there were her duties as a general practitioner to be done, and many lecturings. In 1887 her magnificent career in India came to an end, and she returned to London, with broken health, to win a reputation second to none for selfless devotion. She succeeded Mrs. Garrett Anderson at the New Hospital for Women. In 1902 she became gynaecologist to the Royal Free Hospital. She fought many battles and won them. To her is due, very largely, the equal status of men and women in the medical profession. She was the first woman to take the London M.D. degree. She has laboured ceaselessly in the anti-birth-control cause, writing helpful books for mothers, letters to the Press, and giving lectures. She has been ardently devoted, too, to the cause of Anglo-Catholicism, and for many years has acted as Hon. Consulting Physician, Vice-President, and Member of the Medical Missions Committee of the S.P.G.

What is so amazing is that, throughout her life, she has been far from being robust. There was a radiance in her face, always, as if she had just come from prayer. There is many a woman in London who rises up to call her blessed. In poor homes the remembrance of a gracious doctor lingers for many years. It is specially so of her.

It is some years since I, myself, saw her, but I remember vividly how prodigal she was of her valuable time when I needed her advice, and how she sought in her shelves for books for me, and let me take them away as if unmindful of the risk of lending books to even the honestest folk! And I remember, too, how stood at the door when my visit was over and begged for ers for a dying daughter.

Such women are the salt of the earth. They contrast in startling manner with others of, perhaps, equal brilliance and personality, who are uninformed by catholic wisdom and unwarmed by the life of prayer; who spend many days in labour for which none rise up to call them blessed. Such are sometimes they who write autobiographies. In such a work I read the other day: "……in the light of reason and pure logic, a saint is a very tenth-rate human being, and St. Francis as lamentable a failure as the Emperor Nero."

Dr. Scharlieb reminds me of St. Clare, for St. Clare must have been a very radiant person to have companied with St. Francis, and Dr. Scharlieb exuded radiance.

DESMOND MORSE-BOYCOTT

# WESTERN INFLUENCE ON BENGALI LITERATURE [1]

*(An Introductory Survey)*

There has been from the most ancient times an interconnection among the different literatures of the world. The Greeks borrowed much from the Eastern races and in their turn influenced the Romans. The Anglo-Saxons were influenced by the Norman-French culture introduced in England by William the Conqueror. The Elizabethan poets and playwrights were indebted to the culture of the Renaissance brought from Italy by English scholars and travellers. Again, in the age of Charles II, French fashions were imitated in England. The philosophers of Germany stimulated the minds of the poets of the age of Wordsworth. Thus it is seen that in the cultural world no nation can be independent by itself. Schlegel has rightly observed, "That nations who appear later in the world's history and in the general development of humanity should receive a large portion of their intellectual culture as a bequest from those that have preceded them is inevitable and therefore, in itself no reproach." [2] Professor Tucker says, "Nations can no more be independent in the art of literature than in other arts.....True art is of all the world and a nation does best in arts when it corrects its own particular ideas, without meanwhile surrendering itself to a servile imitation of that for which its genius is naturally unfit." [3]

[1] For valuable suggestions the writer is indebted to Professor Jaygopal Banerjee of the University of Calcutta.

[2] History of Literature, p. 58.

[3] Foreign Debt of English Literature.

Good literature is of all the world and the league of intellectual commonwealths must include in itself the best that is thought and written in every country. No nation can say that the pure creative impulse belongs to a particular nation or country. It is no crime to think in the same way as another. Sidney Lee says, "Literature is a living organism gathering sustenance from all quarters. No great national literature has ever subsisted without some foreign nutrition... Absolute originality of idea or form is rarer in great literature than is commonly imagined···A piece of great literature is usually a mighty chain of which links are forged in many workshops." [4]

Intellectual stagnancy is the inevitable consequence of the closing of the channels of outside influence and a nation that slams its doors against all outside factors of knowledge and culture loses much. Culture is not the monopoly of one nation or another. It belongs equally to all the races of the earth, different though its ideals may be according to environments and circumstances. Different influences have worked on Bengali literature in its growth and development. Taking its origin from Sanskrit, the original source of many of the vernaculars of India, it is but natural that Bengali should have been influenced to a considerable extent by this ancient literature. Sanskrit has furnished to Bengali literary men various kinds of literary forms and models and has saturated the Bengali mind with the spirit of Sanskrit classics—the sweetness of the poetry of Valmiki, the rich dramatic literature of Kalidas and Bhababhuti. Their minds were fed upon Sanskrit critical commentaries, expositions and manuals of rhetoric and prosody. As the mother-literature of most of the Indian vernaculars Sanskrit has served as the most potent factor in the development of her offshoots. In her heyday of glory, the influence of Sanskrit was paramount over the vernacular

[4] Place of English Literature in the Modern University.

literatures of India and these naturally could not make much headway owing to too much of Sanskrit supremacy. Many of the rigidities of Sanskrit scholarship stood in the way of a wholesome development of the vernaculars. Too much attention was paid to Sanskritic studies and therefore the need for the advancement of vernacular literatures was not felt to any great extent. Gradually, however, there was an ebb in the enthusiasm of those brought up in the Sanskrit school of literary culture. As that literature showed signs of deterioration a tendency sprang up to build the vernaculars. The old stock became a sort of dead mass, lifeless and inane and it had to make room for new and strong offsprings.

Besides Sanskrit there were other Indian influences on Bengali but these have been from a common culture and civilisation. The first of these was Buddhism. Next came the Jain influence. The results of these influences are seen chiefly in the poetry of the period between 800 and 1200 A. D.[5] The influence of Hindi and Maithil is found in the Vaishnava literature of mediaeval Bengal and Vidyapati, the great poet of Bihar, is claimed both by the people of his province and those of Bengal. A mixed kind of language which was extensively used in poetry grew up as a consequence of the interchange of thoughts between Mithila and Bengal. This came to be known as "Brajabhasa" and was in much favour with poets like Govindadas.[6]

Mahomedan influence is detected in the literature of a later period, specially that of the 18th century. Besides direct share in literary work, the Moslem writers introduced the

[5] Dineshchandra Sen, Bangabhasa O Sahitya, Ch. IV.

Nagendranath Gupta writes in the Modern Review, March, 1929, that "Brajaboli" was really a corrupt form of Maithil and Govindadas whose real name was Govindadas Jha was a Maithil poet. About Brajabhasa, Lassen says that it was the language of the country in which the Krishna drama had its birth. (N. K. Chattopadhya, The Yatras, 1882, p. 21.)

[6] Dineshchandra Sen, Bangabhasa O Sahitya, Appendix to Ch. VI and Appendix to Ch. VII.

romantic element in Bengali, in the form of stories of love and adventure and to a certain extent they were responsible for the popular craze in the direction of trashy literature of a flamboyant type, written in imitation of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu fables and tales.[1] The Pathan kings of Bengal and their officials were patrons of Bengali literature and under their patronage very useful work was done by some Bengali poets.

Although several European nations settled in Bengal for commercial purposes during the last days of the Mahomedan rule their influence was not of sufficient cultural importance to leave any mark on the literature of Bengal. Of course, a few foreign words found a place in the vocabulary of the people. The Portuguese missionaries, however, did some literary work in Bengali for evangelical purposes but these were of such poor nature from the literary standpoint that they may be left out of consideration. It must be said in fairness to the Portuguese settlers in Bengal that to their enthusiasm and enterprise we owe the first type-printed Bengali books and the first Bengali Grammar and Dictionary.[2]

The next great influence and the greatest foreign influence came in the trend of English dominions in India. Direct intellectual relations between England and India began with English education. The English came to India as merchants but by some stroke of fortune they found themselves masters of the soil. When the occupation of the country was somewhat stable and secure and they had begun to devote themselves to the administration of the country, the necessity of finding men suitable for helping them in ruling their territories was strongly felt. Among the Indian community also there was a growing demand for the Western systems of Science, Philosophy and Art. There was a regular Anglo mania. The Government was

[1] *Ibid*, Ch. IX, Secs. 2 and 3; History of Bengali Language and Literature, pp. 800-1.

[2] Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part I, p. 23; Bengal : Past and Present, Vols. IX and XIII.

also anxious to westernize India. Arising out of these two motives a system of education was introduced about the benefits of which there is still a great deal of difference of opinion. The Charter Act of 1813 laid down a clause that the sum of a lakh of rupees was to be spent annually for "the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India,-and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."[1] The popular demand for education was no less keen. Sir Valentine Chirol says, "The Bengalis were the first to appreciate the value of Western education. In art and literature the modern Bengali has often known how to borrow from the West without sacrificing either his own originality or the traditions of his race or the spirit of his creed."[2] How intense was the demand for Western education among the Bengali community may be understood from the following extract from a letter which Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote in 1823 to Lord Amherst :

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation ignorant of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the Schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep the country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus." This

[1] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV (New edition), p. 409; R. W. Frazer British ndia, p. 385.

[2] India: Old and New, p. 8.

letter which was handed over to the Governor-General by Bishop Heber was the clarion-call of a new age, an age that is yet in the making inspite of a march of nearly hundred years—an age that is destined to link the East and the West, a period of expansion, of new ideas and thoughts.[1]

Macaulay's famous Notes of 1835 favouring the introduction of English education was a further step in the way of progress. Macaulay declared, "I think it clear that we are not bound by the Act of Parliament of 1813 ; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied ; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose ; that we ought to employ them to teaching what is best worth knowing ; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic ; that the natives are desirous to be taught English and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic ; that neither as the language of law nor as the language of religion has the Sanskrit or Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement ; that it is possible to make the natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars ; and to this end our efforts ought to be directed."

He unblushingly wrote, "A single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia," so poor was his opinion of the culture of the East. His great love for English led him to write in the same connection, "Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations." Speaking, in 1846, at the opening of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in the same strain he referred to English literature as "that literature before the light of which impious and cruel superstitions are fast taking flight on the banks of the Ganges."

[1] Max Müller, Biographical Essays, pt. 4, pt. 44 ; Dutt, Literature of Bengal, pt. IV, p. 137 ; Frazer, Literary History of India, p. 391 ; Frazer, Indian Thought : Past and Present, p. 308.

"We must at present do our best to form a class," wrote Macaulay in the same document, "who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, as in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for knowledge to the great mass of population."[1] Lord William Bentinck made the final decision in the same year that the educational policy of the Government should be confined to the promotion of European literature and science.

Lord Macaulay's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevelyan's Report of 1853 to the Parliamentary Committee supported English education. H. H. Wilson in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories (5th July, 1853) said that European literature and science were to form the basis and bulk of knowledge but he was against the creation of a "separate caste of English scholars who had no longer any sympathy, or very little sympathy with their countrymen." To such an extent was the study of English emphasised that the neglect of vernaculars in schools was admitted by responsible officials. Giving evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons (25th July, 1853) Frederic Halliday said, "Wherever English is taught it swallows up everything else." In 1854 Sir Charles Wood formulated his Educational Despatch and three years later the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded. Wood expressed the hope that a new vernacular literature had to be created and such a literature would be among the most enduring monuments of British rule.[2] He held up the

[1] This despatch was printed in 1862 for private circulation by Henry Woodrow and since then has been reprinted in "Distinguished Anglo-Indians" by Col. Laurie (1888), 69-84.

[2] Richard Temple, India in 1880, p. 144.

refreshing hope, "It is neither our aim nor our desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country." J. C. Marshman in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons (21st July, 1853) said, "Notwithstanding the endeavour to diffuse English throughout the country the Bengali language is a more powerful medium of impression on the native mind even than English." But even at that time opinion was at variance over the question of creating a new vernacular literature in Bengal. While one school thought that Bengali literature was to be created anew,[1] another was of opinion that nothing further was needed for its improvement as the merit of the vernacular publications was already sufficiently high.[2]

What the effects of this new system of education was can be easily judged from a biography of David Hare. "Boys refused sacred threads at the 'upanayan' ceremony; many wanted to discard them; many discontinued the habit of offering morning and evening prayers; if they were forced to enter the room where the household gods were, they used to recite portions of Homer's Iliad instead of Sanskrit hymns."[3] In the flood of newness the Bengali mind lost itself. In the first onrush of Western thoughts and ideas all that was of the East was looked down with contempt. "The first generation of University scholars, products of small classes and bearing the impress of eminent teachers, were saturated with the spirit of English literature and of English freedom."[4] This newborn enthusiasm was a little inclined to overrate the value of the foreign element. But this tendency was inevitable. Regarding this phase in Bengali life, Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquesse of Zetand) remarked, "A class of Indians sprang up which adopted indiscriminately everything Western, the bad along with the good. It became the

[1] Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, pp. 248-49.
*Ibid*, Vol. XXXI (1840), pp. 250-51.
[3] Life of Ramtanu Lahiri, Shivanath Sastri.
[4] India : the New Phase, Stanley Reed and P. R. Cadell, pp. 135-36.

fashion amongst a certain section of the educated middle classes in Bengal, during the middle of the last century, to mimic the Englishman in everything and to adopt his habits both good and bad.....Young Bengal was rapidly becoming both demoralised and denationalised."[1] Another discerning observer of the Indian mind wrote, "Fifty years ago, when the Indian first awoke to the advantages of modern education, he ran to an anti-Indian extreme. He flouted his own past and shocked his own present. He thrust his Western heresies under everybody's nose. He ate meat ostentatiously, shouted the fact in the streets, and got drunk to show he was a modern. He adopted an eclectic faith more Western than Eastern.[2]

Whatever might be said about these men it cannot be denied that the influence of the West has been a source of inspiration and guidance to the Bengali intellect and these men by imibibing Western ideas made the path easier for those who came after them. But even at that time opinion was divided as to whether Western influence was prejudicial to the development of the Bengali mind or not. A gloomy picture of the educated Bengali youth of the last century was drawn in the Press.[3] On the other hand, in an influential periodical, prominence was given to the views of a former student of the Hindu College on the benefits of English education. This gentleman characterised English education as 'a beacon upon a rock' and was optimistic enough to write, "When the shelves of the day-labourer will be decorated with the works of Bacon and Bentham, the consummation devoutly wished for will be attained...the Indian Millennium will commence."[4] Whether this devoutly wished for golden age has become manifest is yet to be seen, but the influence of the West on the literary side has been beneficial. The author of the "Challenge of Asia" says, "As English

[1] Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 16th February, 1923.
[2] Ramsay Macdonald, Awakening of India, p. 194.
[3] Asiatic Journal, II, 1840, p. 94.
[4] Asiatic Journal, 1838, Part II, pp. 8-10.

became better known and especially when it became the door into Government service, students devoured the best of English literature, and though the peculiar cast of the introspective Hindu mind gave utterance to its thoughts in philosophical poetry or contemplative prose, the influence of the West is not hard to discern."[1]

The importance of English for Indian vernaculars has been great. Suffice it to say that so far back as 1833, a great friend of India, Dr. Alexander Duff, said, "The English language, I repeat, is the lever which, as the instrument of conveying the entire range of knowledge, is destined to move all Hindusthan," and the intervening period has amply shown that the great Scotch missionary was perfectly right. The intercourse with a culture which though not of higher stamp nor older than our own has certainly been a source of immense help in our way to progress. India is a land where people of diverse religions, castes and creeds live together bound by a common heritage and this feeling of kinship has been more cemented by the study of English literature, institutes and ideals. The contact with Western thought and culture gave the Bengali mind a rude shock and there was a growing desire among the educated classes for the improvement of their own vernacular. Akshaykumar Datta wrote, "The propagation and advancement of knowledge is impossible in any country without the cultivation of the national language."[2] Kishori Chand Mitra said, "The necessity and importance of cultivating the Bengali language—the language of our country, the language of our infancy, the language in which our earliest ideas and associations are entwined—will ere long be recognised by all." An opportune advice was also given by Drinkwater Bethune. Bethune said, "It is impossible that the English language can ever become familiar to the millions of inhabitants of Bengal; but if you do your duty,

[1] Stanley Rice, The Challenge of Asia, p. 206.

[2] Sapna Darshan.

the English language will become to Bengal what, long ago, Greek and Latin were to England; and the ideas which you gain through English learning will, by your help gradually be diffused by a vernacular literature through the masses of your countrymen." Rajnarayan Bose voiced the aspirations of the educated community when he wrote, "One hope remains incomplete, one thirst remains unquenched; that hope is to see the motherland filled with the fragrance of the fame of world-respected and vastly reputed authors; that thirst is to drink the nectarine flow of the poetical works of my own country." A well-known Bengali periodical observed in 1860, "It is our duty to show disregard to Bengali because till now it has not reached the same level as English. Will its condition improve if we show disrespect to it ? In that disregard only our incompetence will be expressed ; to people of other countries we shall be objects of laughter." [1]

Through the knowledge of English the Bengali mind became aware of the existence of other great literatures of the world. Some of the scholars of the last century read the European classics in the original. Many new hitherto unknown avenues of knowledge were thrown open and many novel elements were introduced in the Bengali literature, apart from the reshaping and recasting of some of the older forms. There were no criticism, no short story in the modern sense, no drama, no fiction, almost no prose in Bengali and Western influence has created these. The successful handling of completely new forms is a gift from the West. Inspite of the Vaishnava and Sakta traditions Bengali literature of the early 19th century does not present a happy picture. Literature had fallen from its high pedestal and literary traditions were in the keeping of men who had little or no equipment and training for the difficult responsibilities of a literary career. Poetic rivalries which often became very indecent and scurrilous, wit-combats, lewd and coarse love songs,

[1] Soma Prakash, 12th November, 1860, p. 593.

obscene and vulgar love stories were the principal delights of the people. In such an atmosphere the advent of English literature was welcomed very warmly in Bengal and under its influence a new type of literature began to be shaped. The constant touch with a living and powerful literature has worked as a strong tonic. Writers in Bengal have assimilated much from the West. Sir Sidney Lee says, "In one or other degree the assimilation of pre-existing literature is a main element in all literary composition."[1] Walter Raleigh says, "Plagiarism is a crime only where writing is a trade.....The best quotations, the best translations, the best thefts, are all equally new and original works."[2]

There have been critics who think that Homer copied the Ramayana but they forget that the stock of ancient myths was common to all the earliest races of the earth. Weber advanced the theory that the Ramayana was copied from Homer. Max Müller examined the fallacy of this kind of one-sided thinking and concluded after an examination of similarities between Roman Catholic and Tibetan Buddhist rituals, Colebrooke's list of identical words in Sanskrit, Latin, German, and Persian stories of the Jataka and the Bible, Panchatantra and Aesop's fables, that these coincidences were merely of an accidental nature, sometimes due to common sources and sometimes to actual influences.[3] Tennyson was several times charged with plagiarism and a critic of the poet says, "Are not human eyes all over the world looking at the same objects and must there not consequently be coincidences of thoughts and impressions and expressions? The shells upon the shore of the ocean of knowledge are free to all who will gather them; it is only the pearls of the great deep which only the mighty can find, and which to them must

[1] Sidney Lee, East London College Inaugural Address, 1913.
[2] Raleigh, Style.
[3] Max Müller, Last Essays, "Coincidences."

belong when found."[1] A similar view was taken by Anatole France while examining "L'Obstacle" of Daudet and Maurice Montegut's verse-tragedy "Le Fou" and Molière's "Tartufe" and Scarron's "Les Hypocrites." "Situations," he wrote, "are everybody's property," and "coincidences are frequent and inevitable."[2]

The pioneers in Bengal naturally looked towards English literature for building up a new literature for themselves and in fashioning a style which would be accepted to the general body of writers.[3] The spadework was facilitated by the translation of a large number of English books and various others were adapted to suit the requirements of a Bengali reading-public. This work was partly done by educated Bengalis who were known in those days as "Young Bengal."[4] The European missionaries had also considerable share in this task. New ideas generally come in the wake of translations and they popularise new models on which new and original works can be written.

[1] J. C. Walter-Tennyson, Ch. XVII, "Was Tennyson an Original Poet?"; also Appendix (B) of the same book.

[2] On Life and Letters, IV "A Plea for Plagiarism."

[3] Calcutta Review, 1885, p. 331.

[4] Calcutta Review, June: 1924, "Young Bengal and Translation Work;" see also Calcutta Review, Vol. IV, for Raja Ram Mohan Roy's opinion of Young Bengal whom he regarded as "more debased than the most bigotted Hindu, and their principles the bane of all morality." (p. 391); Young Bengal was staunchly defended by Soma Prakash (10th December, 1860) against an attack by the Hindu Patriot (28th November, 1860)." If the causes of the rapid and wonderful improvement of Bengali Literature during the last fifty years be carefully investigated, we have little doubt that the ever-increasing influence of English literature and education will be assigned a foremost place among them. It is not possible now to appreciate fully the great benefit our literature derived, in the first stage from the translation of English books. The books, etc., translated or adapted from English school, books by Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Akshay Kumar Dutt, K. M. Banerjee, Rajendralal Mitra, Rajkrishna Banerjee and others, for use in our schools, considerably helped in the formation of Modern Bengali, in fashioning the style of Bengali composition and in the dissemination of a knowledge of Western literature and science among our countrymen."—Memoirs of Kali Prossunno Singh by M. N. Ghosh (1920), pp. 84-85.

Then coming to works original in themselves we find Western influence contributing much to their making. Madhusudan Dutt said of his great poem "Meghnad Badh Kavya" that it was three-fourths Greek. For writing farce, tragic drama, and the sonnet he was indebted to the West. He modelled the "Birangana Kavya" on Ovid and Pope. Another work which he planned was to be based on Virgil. Rangalal's "Padmini" owes a debt to the West. Hemchandra Banerjee acknowledged that for his "Vritra Samhar Kavya" he was indebted to Western poetry. Nabinchandra Sen's works bear traces of the influence of Milton, Scott and Byron. The great Bankim was not ashamed to say that for some of his works he owed the inspiration to Western literature and even Rabindranath is no exception to this influence. Besides direct literary influences, several other facts are to be considered in this connection which had an overwhelming effect upon the development of Bengali literature. The Bramho Samaj movement, the movement against polygamy and in favour of widow marriage, the renaissance of Hindu religion, the rapid expansion of the Press, the gradual emancipation of women, the spread of higher education, the demand for political freedom which are primarily the effects of Western culture have tended to the steady growth of a voluminous literature. This was also the object of those who were in charge of Public Instruction in India in the last century. "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed," wrote Mr. Adam in a Report on Vernacular Education in 1835 to the Committee of Public Instruction, Bengal. The net result can best be described in the words of the first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

"Fortunately the time is long past when the Committee of Public Instruction could say that 'the vernacular languages contained neither the literary nor the scientific information necessary for a liberal education,' or when an educated Bengali himself could meet an English believer in the possibilities of

the Bengali language with the retort that 'anything said or written in the vernacular tongue would be despised in consequence of the medium through which it was conveyed.' Through the combined agency of Indian scholars, British missionaries and British administrators, the Bengali language has in 80 years since these words were written been transformed from 'a fantastic thing, unintelligible, foolish, and full of unmeaning vain pedantry,' into a vehicle of thought with 'a new status and a classic dignity'."[1]

JAYANTAKUMAR DAS GUPTA.

[1] Sir Frederic Whyte, India, A Federation? pp. 14-15, Significance of the Revival of Bengali.

## THE VICISSITUDES OF INDO-GERMAN TRADE

Direct trade between India and Germany began in the seventies of the last century; and in the early stages, Germany occupied an insignificant position among the countries trading with India. But the subsequent developments were very remarkable in the pre-war period. Germany easily left behind all other countries except Great Britain in the magnitude of her trade with India and thus came to hold the second place among the countries trading with our country. During the War, our commerce with Germany altogether ceased; but since then, inspite of the financial chaos that overwhelmed the country, the resumption of commercial relations with India was very quick. Already the amount of Indo-German trade has exceeded the pre-war level in value, though, owing to more rapid growth of our trade with Japan and the United States of America since the outbreak of the war, Germany now occupies the fourth position, the first three places being held respectively by Great Britain, Japan and the U. S. A.

The following figures are illustrative of the progress of Indo-German trade:—

(*Value in lakhs of Rupees.*)

| | Exports to Germany. | Imports from Germany. | Total amount of Indo-German Trade. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1875-76 | 14 | 2 | 16 |
| 1880-81 | 34 | 7 | 14 |
| 1890-91 | 439 | 169 | 608 |
| 1900-01 | 922 | 260 | 1182 |
| 1905-06 | 1474 | 438 | 1912 |
| 1910-11 | 1968 | 516 | 2484 |
| 1913-14 | 2642 | 1268 | 3950 |
| 1915-16 | nil | 46 | 46 |
| 1920-21 | 880 | 475 | 1355 |
| 1925-26 | 2688 | 1331 | 4019 |
| 1929-30 | 2649 | 1579 | 4228 |

In view of the Great War which, for the time being, interrupted our trade relations with Germany, and the after-war financial disasters which overtook her and disorganised her economic organisation, it is necessary, while tracing the growth of Indo-German trade, to divide our study into two clear periods : the pre-war period and the post-war period. As already observed during the pre-war period great developments took place in our trade with Germany. The extent of this progress can be fully gauged from the following figures giving the percentage share of Germany in the total trade of India (in merchandise only).

*Percentage Share of Germany in the Total Trade of India.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1875-76 | ·16 |
| 1880-81 | ·3 |
| 1890-91 | 3·5 |
| 1900-01 | 6·2 |
| 1905-06 | 7·0 |
| 1910-11 | 7·2 |
| 1913-14 | 8·8 |

It will thus be seen that the growth of Indo-German trade was very rapid, especially during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Both the export and import trade showed almost equally marked rise. But, during the pre-war period, the growth of imports from Germany in comparison with those from other countries was the most remarkable thing. Thus, the imports from Germany in 1913-14, though amounting to less than half of the Indian exports sent thereto, were more than double of those received from any other country except the United Kingdom. As a consumer of Indian goods, however, though Germany occupied here also the second position, she was very closely followed by Japan, the U. S. A. and France. In other words, in the pre-war period, of all countries excluding the

United Kingdom, Germany showed by far the greatest amount of progress in pushing the sale of her goods in India; while, in buying Indian articles, though she was ahead of those other countries, the margin of difference was not so prominent as in the other case.

## II.

There was little progress in the imports from Germany till 1888-89 when these amounted to Rs. 24·8 lakhs. Subsequent to this, there was a rapid rise so that by 1906-07, Germany came to occupy the second place as a supplier of goods to India exceeding the imports from all other countries except Great Britain, the value of the imports reaching Rs. 582 lakhs in the same year. During the next four years, there was some decline in the imports which amounted to Rs. 516 lakhs in 1910-11. The progress during the next three years was most remarkable, the value of our total imports from Germany being Rs. 1,262 lakhs in 1913-14. The outbreak of the war gave a rude blow to this growing trade, and till 1919-20, there were almost no imports from that country. These have since once again shown great developments, rising to Rs. 1,691 lakhs in 1926-27. In the last three or four years there has been some slight decline, due no doubt to the general trade depression all over the world. Still, the imports amounted to Rs. 1,579 lakhs in 1929-30, the latest year under study; and it will thus be clearly seen that the imports from Germany have already reached the pre-war level so far as value is concerned.

The development of India's import trade with Germany was in the earlier days, due to the growing imports of beet sugar, which made up the bulk of the total. That these began to rise at a rapid pace all of a sudden from 1889 was due to the fact that beet sugar began to be imported from that very year. With the development of the beet-root industry in Germany and a systematic stimulus given to the export trade under State

bounties, the imports of German sugar showed great progress in the last decade of the nineteenth century. But in consequence of countervailing duties levied in 1899 and of special duties in 1902 against bounty-fed sugar, there was a heavy decline in the imports of German sugar in the following years. The abolition of countervailing duties in 1904 as a result of the abolition of bounties after the Brussels Settlement, the imports of German sugar once again rose for the next three years. It was, however, soon found that without the help of bounties these imports could not be maintained. Since then, the imports of German sugar, except during the year 1926-27 which was an abnormal case, have been quite negligible.

By the time Germany was losing the Indian market for her sugar, another commodity came to make good not only the falling imports of sugar, but also caused a further expansion of the total trade. This was metals—consisting mostly of iron, steel and manufactures thereof. From 1905-06 onwards, the imports of the metals have continued to represent the greatest value among all the commodities imported from Germany.

The other articles of importance imported from Germany are hardware, dyes, glass and glassware, liquors, machinery and millwork, paper and pasteboard, and woollen manufactures.

The following points are worthy of note in connection with the articles of import from Germany, and their growth:

(*i*) Germany began ber export trade with India with beet sugar, and the earlier developments were due to the augmented trade in sugar.

(*ii*) Simultaneously with the decay of sugar imports, those of metals began to rise rapidly; the total imports from Germany thus showing almost continuous progress.

(*iii*) The important thing to be noted is that though the imports of metals represented the greatest value, these never occupied a predominant position, the bulk of the total imports consisting of a number of manufactured articles, each being

imported in inconsiderable quantities, but in the total assuming large dimensions.

It was, therefore, the capacity of Germany to supply the Indian market with a variety of manufactured goods that accounted for the expansion of our import trade with her. The industrial progress of Germany towards the close of the last century and the beginning of this century was most phenomenal. And this all-round progress in the different branches of industry resulted in our flourishing import trade in a host of articles, the chief of which were manufactures of iron and steel, Germany having shown the greatest amount of progress in those industries.

## III

Along with the imports, the exports from India to Germany showed even greater expansion in value. In 1875-76, these amounted to only Rs. 14 lakhs, and for a number of years to come, were exceeded by those to most other countries. In 1906-07 Germany came to hold the second place among the consumers of Indian goods, being next to only the United kingdom, the exports having risen to Rs. 1,977 lakhs. Thus Germany came to occupy the second position among the countries trading with India simultaneously in our export and import trade in 1906-07. In contrast with the imports, the subsequent growth of the exports was continuous, and the latter rose to Rs. 2,642 lakhs in 1913-14. This was due to the non-existence of a decaying article like sugar in our export trade. Like the imports, the exports were also cut off by the war, and have again reached the pre-war level in value, amounting to Rs. 2,649 lakhs in 1929-30. The record value was however reached in the preceding year 1928-29, when the exports amounted to Rs. 3,248 lakhs.

The exports are chiefly made up of raw jute, raw cotton, seeds (mainly groundnuts), hides and skins, lac and rice. In the earlier days, raw cotton made up the bulk of the exports; but since the close of the last century, raw jute exceeded it in

value and at present occupies the foremost position among the articles of export to that country. The second position is at present held by seeds, the exports of which have been very large especially during the last three years. Raw cotton now comes third. Since 1903-04, Germany has become a regular consumer of Indian rice in large quantities, and is an important market for that grain. The exports of hides and skins, which had amounted to Rs. 318 lakhs in 1913-14, have declined in the subsequent years, and there has been no recovery of the trade, the exports of 1929-30 amounting to Rs. 118 lakhs only. These curtailed exports of raw hides and skins have been due to the development of the Indian tanning industry, which took place during and after the war. The exports of lac are considerably smaller, amounting to about a crore of rupees. The exports from India to Germany are thus entirely made up of a number of raw materials, each of which is of considerable value.

## IV

The causes of this remarkable growth of Indo-German trade will be found in the fact that, since the seventies of the last century, great developments have taken place in the industries of Germany. On the one hand, with the progress of her different manufacturing industries, Germany has been able to supply the Indian market with a large variety of cheap manufactured commodities in competition with the United Kingdom and other European countries. On the other, she found the raw materials of India very useful in developing her new industries. As has just been observed, the bulk of our exports to Germany consists of raw materials used in manufacturing industries. It is, therefore, the industrial development of Germany that was mainly responsible for the extraordinary growth of Indian trade with her.[1]

[1] W. H. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*, Chapter III.

V

As has been the case with the United States of America and Japan, the two other countries besides Germany who have also shown very great progress in their trade with India, the growth of Indo-German trade has been more rapid than that of Germany's total trade, so that, just as Germany rose in relative importance in India's foreign trade, so also India did in Germany's. The following index numbers bear out the truth of this remark :—

| | Total German Trade | Indo-German Trade. |
|---|---|---|
| 1894 | 100 | 100 |
| 1900 | 150 | 125 |
| 1905 | 186 | 202 |
| 1910 | 238 | 263 |
| 1913 | 302 | 413 |
| 1921 | 93 | 249 |
| 1923 | 177 | 379 |
| 1925 | 208 | 425 |

From the above, it will be seen that from the beginning of this century, Germany's trade with India has advanced at a faster rate than her total trade. The post-war developments are even more marked. While the total volume of her trade had actually gone down even below the 1894 level, her trade with India, in spite of the fact that it had altogether ceased during the war, resumed the pre-war level most quickly. This fact points to the mutual importance of the two countries in supplying each other's needs.

It may also be observed in this connection that the greater volume of our exports to Germany than the imports we receive therefrom has been in conformity with the relative positions of the export and import trade of Germany. The import trade of Germany has all along been larger than her export trade.

## VI

The war, stopping our trade with Germany, gave good opportunities to non-billigerent industrial countries like the U.S.A. and Japan to capture the Indian market. The consequence has been that, since the war, Japan and the U.S.A. have outstripped Germany in the volume of their Indian trade, and Germany has now been sent down to the fourth place from the second which she occupied at the outbreak of the war. Though in value she has already reached the pre-war level, the further development that has taken place in the volume of Indian trade has resulted in the shrinking of the percentage share of Germany in the total trade of India. Thus while her share was 8·8 per cent in 1913-14, it was no more than 7·6 in 1929-30. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing how rapid the recovery of Germany has been after the close of the war. The following are the illustrative figures :

*Percentage Share of Germany in the Total Trade of India.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1919-20 | 0 |
| 1920-21 | 2·2 |
| 1925-26 | 6·5 |
| 1929-30 | 7·6 |

It is thus evident that Germany has been rapidly coming back to her pre-war position, and it is quite likely that, with the termination of the present world economic depression, her share in Indian trade will reach the pre-war level in the course of a few years. It should, however, be observed that, from the view-point of Germany, India has already more than regained her pre-war position in German trade :

*Percentage Share of India in the Total Trade of Germany.*

| | Import | Export |
|---|---|---|
| 1913 | 5·0 | 1·5 |
| 1920 | 3·4 | 0·8 |
| 1923 | 3·8 | 1·7 |
| 1924 | 4·2 | 2·3 |
| 1925 | 5·2 | 2·2 |

This has been due to the restricted trade of Germany consequent on the financial crisis caused by monetary dislocation. In other words, the post-war developments in Indo-German trade have been greater from the view-point of Germany's foreign trade than India's. This fact lends additional strength to the contention that, with the general growth of the foreign trade of Germany, the progress of which has been checked in the post-war period owing to her own financial difficulties and the world trade depression, she may once again occupy her pre-war position of eminence in Indian trade.

In this connection, it should be noted that Germany no longer holds that premier position among the non-British countries in our import trade as she did in the pre-war days. Whereas in 1913-14, the imports from Germany were more than double of those received from any of the other non-British countries, these are now actually less than those received from Japan and the U.S.A., inspite of the fact that in value these have exceeded the pre-war level. This has been due to the great developments that have taken place since the outbreak of the war in our import trade with Japan and the U.S.A. And it is extremely doubtful whether Germany would ever again hold that dominant position which she did previous to the outbreak of the war, so far as the import trade of India is concerned.

## VII

It is true that in the pre-war period Germany has shown the greatest amount of progress among all the non-British countries in trading with India, and that after the complete collapse of our trade with that country during the war, the recovery has been very rapid. But, in the meantime, she has been superseded by Japan and the United States of America, which now occupy respectively the second and the third positions, Germany being relegated to the fourth. Now the question is, will Germany be able to regain her second position again? It is rather

difficult to answer this question at this moment when we are in the grips of an unparalleled economic depression and financial crisis. Nevertheless, the study of the past ought to give us some indication about the future, and we venture to make certain observations in this connection.

Since the bulk of our trade with Japan consists of cotton and cotton goods, we are of opinion that the predominance of that country is likely to suffer in future simultaneously with the adoption of stronger measures of protection for the Indian cotton industry and further progress of the same. But the position of the United States is strong, provided she can sell her articles at a rate which is within the means of the poorer Indian people. On the other hand, Germany possesses a number of industries, the foremost of which are the iron and steel industries. But here also the progress of the home industry, the preferential tariff imposed on British steel and iron, and the competition from Belgium may adversely affect the imports from Germany. During the last few years, the imports of iron and steel from Germany have appreciably gone down, though these have, to some extent, been compensated for by the increased imports of brass.

An examination of the principal articles of Germany's export and import trade will enable us better to gauge the future scope and possibilities of Indian trade with that country. The more important commodities of import into Germany are wheat and other food-grains, fruits, coffee, hides and skins, tobacoo, wood, iron ore, copper ore, wool and cotton. Articles of food make up a good portion of the total imports into Germany ; and in this sphere India can show little progress. But in the other raw materials, progress is likely to be unhampered. The exports are, therefore, sure to grow in normal circumstances.

The export from Germany consists mostly of manufactured goods of which the most important are iron and iron manufactures, machinery, paper, cotton goods and coal. The first two represent, by far, the greatest amount ; but as a preferential

duty is being levied against the imports of these goods into India, it is not unlikely that these may suffer in future, of which we have already some indications. At the same time, Germany is not expected to yield without a tough fight. Unlike the United States of America, for instance, foreign trade is an absolute necessity of Germany ; for she has to depend on foreign imports for a large portion of her food supply, and the prosperity of many of her industries depends on a flourishing export trade.[1] The fact that, inspite of the strong forces militating against the development of her trade in the post-war period, she has already been able to gain back her lost market to almost its former extent, clearly shows the superior position that Germany occupies as an industrial country. She can manufacture a large number of cheap articles which are in a better position to compete in the Indian market with similar commodities from the United States of America which are more costly, or from Japan which are inferior in quality. It is the capacity of Germany to supply the Indian market with a variety of manufactured articles of common use, which are in the same time, cheap and of quality, which makes her position stronger in competition with most other countries.

We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that provided normal conditions prevail, Germany will be able to a great extent to regain her former position of eminence in Indian trade in the course of a few years, though it must also be pointed out that she is, at all events, likely to be closely followed by Japan and the U.S.A.

S. C. Bose

[1] *Cf.* H. G. Moulton and C. E. McGuire : *Germany's Capacity to Pay*, pp. 3544.

# SIKHISM AND THE PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS [1]

There are usually two main criteria by which we judge the value of particular religions : the speculative test, which inquires into their contribution towards a clearer statement of the problems of the religious consciousness, and the pragmatic test, which looks into the general results in the practical life and conduct of people, consequent upon their religious beliefs. We propose to attempt a brief sketch of the contribution of Sikhism to the exposition of the fundamental problems of the religious consciousness, and the ways in which their religion has affected the life and conduct of its votaries.

Sikhism is the latest offshoot of the rationalistic spirit, as a revolt from within the fold of Hinduism. It arose with the simple teachings of Nānak (1469-1539), as a protest against some of the degenerate practices of popular Hinduism, such as idol-worship and the rigidity of caste. Nānak was singularly free from all pretensions and conceit, and spoke of himself not as 'the *son* of God' but as 'the *slave* of God.' He was no scholar like Sankara or Rāmānuja or Chaitanya ; hence, his message is not clothed in a high-flown intellectualism or verbal jugglery, but is couched in the simple dialect of the Punjab, which could be understood by the ordinary man in the street. He was hailed by his disciples (the Sikhs) as their first spiritual guide or *Guru*, and was followed in succession by nine other Gurus, who are regarded by the Sikh tradition as nine different bodies of the spirit of Nānak. It was the last apostle Govind Singh, who introduced a number of rites whereby to consolidate the scattered Sikhs into a united nation of the Khalsa Brotherhood. A campaign of incessant persecution by the Moghals

[1] A paper read before the All-India Oriental Congress at Patna, December, 1930.

drove the Sikhs into desperation and forced them to take to arms in self-defence. The success that attended their arms reached its zenith under Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), and it was generally inspired by the religious fervour that breathed into the everyday life of the Khalsa soldier. We are not concerned here with the military organisation of the Khalsa, but shall review the fundamental teaching of this religion under the typical problems of the religious consciousness.

Three main problems emerge in our religious consciousness, and these three are at the very basis of all metaphysics: the problems of God, Freedom and Immortality. Let us see what Sikhism has to say on each of these problems.

*God.*

We have, first, to examine the problem of God, His relation to man and the universe, and the means and capacity of knowing Him as well as His attributes. Now, Sikhsim embodies the general Hindu conception on its more exoteric and less esoteric side. It is monotheistic and believes in the unity of Godhead. Hence, idol-worship is a degenerate form of worshipping the Spirit and must be abandoned. The real nature of God is a qualityless Being, but we know Him under the highest epithets which we can possibly think of. Thus, we speak of Him as the True, the Eternal, the Omniscient, the Fearless Lord of the universe. He is Immortal, Unborn, Self-existent, Great and Merciful. This conception is essentially akin to the Hindu conception of the *Sat, Chit,* and *Ānanda,* as defining the nature of the Absolute; and this idea seems to correspond ultimately to the triplicity of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, in which the Absolute reveals its true nature. Nānak admires the *Beauty* of the universe as a work of God, he holds *Truth* as the supreme virtue, which we can realise through *Goodness,* or service to humanity, which is also service to God.

Sikhism is not based an any kind of polemic against other religions. It holds truth to be universal, and therefore believes

that its revelation cannot be restricted to any one country, clime or nationality. It refrains from attacking the prophets of other religions, but inveighs against the hollowness of formalism. It says that God resides neither in the temple nor in the mosque nor in the church, but only in the cavity of a *pure heart*. Spiritual light emanates from within.

There is much in common between the teaching of the Upanishads and Sikhism. Both look upon God as the permanent abode, the one Reality within the flux of Māyā; both speak of Him as the One without a second (hence Fearless), the Inconceivable, the Inscrutable, and the Mysterious; both point out the futility of language in its attempts to comprehend Him; and both preach the extinction of the sense of duality through meditation of Him. Sikhism, however, was meant to be a religion of the ignorant masses. Nānak, like Goswami Tulsi Das, emphasises the inherent potency of muttering God's *Name*. He tells us that it is the true Name, which alone can solve all problems and unravel all mysteries, and which should, therefore, be sung day and night. Hinduism also contains the belief that the merit of all the prolonged austerities, penances, and sacrifices can be attained in the Kaliyuga merely by reciting the name of God. That is why Kabir was intoxicated with the idea of God's Name ('*Harināma*'), a sentiment that was shared by Nānak as well, and in fact by all followers of the Bhakti school. To them, the Name of God is the surest means of salvation.

God is not to be worshipped through false representations, which limit His infinitude. Worship is no doubt essential in the scheme of every religiously inclined personality, and Sikhism too insisted on it; but it was not the worship of stocks and stones. Without worship the devotee cannot realise his unity with God, and cannot feel that charm and sweetness in his life, which he is always yearning after. Worship is a double-sided activity. To use a Hegelian phrase, it is the activity of Divine grace and human self-sacrifice. God is on the one side, I am on the other

and I enclose myself with God within myself, know myself in God as my truth and God in me, and bring about a concrete unity between myself and God. As Hegel puts it, "Worship is the act of giving to oneself this highest, this absolute enjoyment—there is emotion in it; I am present in it with my individual personality." Nānak enjoins worship of God through His true Name. He says, "By the name of Rāma, my heart is perforated. What other reflection shall I make ? By attention to the Name, happiness comes about : love to the Lord is the essence of happiness. As it pleases Thee, so keep me : the Name of Hari is my support." In the strain of our familiar couplet "Tvameva mātā cha pitā tvameva, etc.," Guru Arjan too says, "Thou art my father, thou art my mother; thou art my cousin, thou art my brother. Thou art my protector in all places, then what fear and grief, O Lord. Thou art my support, thou art my trust." Like a true *bhakta*, Nānak always sang in praise of God. His companion, Mardānā the rebeck-player, was always with him in his travels, and with his aid Nānak was rapt in praise of God through his soul-stirring songs. Like Schleiermacher, Nānak based his religion on *feeling* rather than knowledge, and like an artist, he gave expression to his feeling through his song in his communion with the Lord.

We are the children of God. God is merciful, if we approach Him in truth and humility. Like the Deist, Thomas Chubb (1679-1747), Nānak's contention was that religion is not a *doctrine* but *life*, not the reception of a system of truths or facts, but a pious effort to live in accordance with God's will here in the hope of joining Him hereafter. He did not feel the necessity of miracles, but opened the way of God to every person, man or woman, without distinction of caste or colour.

Unlike Deism, Sikhism does not believe in an "absentee God," but in an Ever-present and Living Reality. God not only creates the universe, but sustains it and also withdraws it within him. Says the Japji, "One Māyā in union with God gave birth to three acceptable children. One of them is the

creator, the second the provider, and the third performeth the function of the destroyer."

The most essential requisite of worship is *Faith*, and Sikhism emphasises its potency in the attainment of salvation. Here, again, an anti-deistic attitude is assumed. The will-to-believe, which is the fulcrum of the religious life, is to be guided by a Guru, a spiritual guide. Nowhere else do we find so much stress laid on the necessity of a Guru's guidance as in Sikhism. Of course, we have a similar idea in Hinduism, but it is Sikhism which has made it the most central conception of its religious life and organisation. It is this very idea, which inculcated the spirit of implicit and unquestioning obedience to the commands of the Guru that served as the real motive power behind the martial instincts of the Sikhs in their wars against the Moghals.

As to the *relation of God to the universe*, Sikhism adopts the simple Hindu idea of Creator, Sustainer, and Destroyer, as we have already indicated. God is most often spoken of as the "Kartār" or the Creator, but we also meet with passages, where the Hindu trinity is spoken of as the expression of the same one God. God creates the world, which is without a beginning, since He Himself is in the beginning as also in the end. God is True, Fearless and Eternal. He is the "*Akāl Purkh*" (*Sk.* 'Akāla Purusha') who is specially invoked by the Akalis for protection and grace. Their national shout of greeting in the words "Sat Sri Akāl," reminds them of the same idea of God, the Eternal Spirit, the embodiment of Truth.

The conception of the Fearless has already found a prominent place in Hinduism, both in its esoteric and exoteric aspects. The Upanishads say, "Fear always arises from the perception of a Second" ('*Dvitiyād vai bhayam bhavati*'), but when there is only One existence without a Second, where is the scope of any fear after this realisation? In the 16th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā, 'fearlessness' is put down as the very first essential requisite of the divine life. But Hinduism has somehow

failed to work out this idea in general practice. It, however, did exert its potency on the Rajputs and the Marhattas, but its pragmatic justification seems to have been fully reflected in the military organisation of the Sikhs, from the time of Guru Har Govind down to the annexation of the Punjab in 1842. Even to-day, the Sikhs seem to possess the temper of fearlessness *par excellence* among the diverse races of India. But it must be remembered that fearlessness in its genuine form is in perfect unison with the spirit of discipline and obedience to authority, and must not be allowed to degenerate into mere lawlessness and license.

As to the *relation of God to man*, Sikhism does not enter into any speculative controversy or hairsplitting dialectic. It adopts the simple attitude of Vaishnavism. Nānak always spoke of himself as the Lord's "slave" (*'Nānāk terā Bāndā'*), while singing His praise. Sikhism has adopted this idea wholesale. Man is dependent on God, as His slave or as his child. He therefore stands in need of God's grace, His favour and His mercy. The whole Khalsa brotherhood was committed to God's care by the most illustrious Guru, Govind Singh. This is illustrated by the national war-cry of the Sikhs, which is also uttered as a common form of greeting, when one Sikh happens to meet another : *"Wāh Guru Jī Kā Khālsā, Srī Wāh Guru Jī Kī Fateh!"*[1] "The Khalsa belonged to the Guru, who was always divine." The victory they accalaimed was of their Guru, the incarnation of Truth, and hence it was due to divine help. It reminds them of their faith in the Guru, who is victorious, because he represents the cause of Truth and Righteousness.

As to the epistemological problem of the means to know God, we have already indicated the emphasis laid on *Faith* and the intervention and guidance of a *Guru*. We have also said how Sikhism lays great stress on the efficacy of God's *Name*, with the belief that the muttering of the Name is silence and in song will lead one to salvation. The Sikh Prayer, the Japjī, is a recital of God's Name and its glorious manifestations. A

Sikh is enjoined to mutter the Lord's Name at every breath of his life, and many a Sikh is seen to utter "Wāh Guru" almost at every moment. There is a touch of agnosticism in Sikhism, as God is supposed to be beyond knowledge. True knowledge is true meditation of God's Name. This seems to be the burden of many songs embodied in the Holy Granth of the Sikhs.

*Freedom.*

On the problem of Freedom, Sikhism has hardly anything original to offer. It strongly believes in the doctrine of Karma and Transmigration, which permeates the whole of Hinduism and Buddhism. It emphasises the efficacy of good deeds, and believing in the existence of a real heaven and hell as more or less physical planes (as does popular Hinduism), it assures its votaries that by good deeds alone they can secure freedom from all bondage, and acquire that spiritual potency which will take them to heaven, in spite of Yama jealously guarding its gates. After death, good and bad deeds will be reckoned, and a balance struck. This notion certainly appeals strongly to the masses, whose simple faith in the efficacy of Karma helps them towards a life of purity and contentment.

*Immortality.*

So far as the idea of a life after death is concerned, Sikhism again seems wanting in any definite doctrines. It merely adopts the common idea of the Hindu eschatology of the migration of the soul to other regions, its passing through heaven or hell, according to its desert, before returning to 86 *lacs* of forms of evolution culminating in the human species. This transmigration can only be stopped by the attainment of true freedom or happiness or salvation, which is only possible by a sincere meditation of God's true Name. Desires should be curbed and reduced, sincerity must be the rule of life, and one must be ready to lay down one's life in the cause of Truth.

Sikhism is a practical religion, and so its pragmatic value is considerable. It holds that a true religion is not a sum-total of doctrines but a life lived according to Truth. Truth alone contains every other virtue within it. One who is really true to himself has discovered the secret of his being. Truth leads to fearlessness, and opens the way to the blessed life of a mystic, who is drunk in the Name of 'Harināma' and who sees everywhere nothing but the manifestation of the same True, Timeless, Fearless, Great and Glorious God.

PRAKASH KUMAR SHASTRI

# PEEPS OF LOVE:

## I

*Care and Caress.*

Anxiety for what will come
May I but throw away!
May love I what shall come from thee,
Forgetting anxious sway!
Anxiety disowns thee, Love,
Thy womb but bears sweet joy;
May joy *that* be of all the life
That no care can ever cloy,
May life mine find in thee sweet death
That death is sure life's endless breath.

## II

*Pride in Sympathy.*

If I another hurt that's friend
And feel that hurt as mine;
That hurt's sweet help of eye to Truth
For ever in soul to shine.
When I another see is hurt—
With me the hurt's no bond
When I express loud fellow-hurt
'Tis often pride-rot pond.
Ah! may I feel all brothers' sorrow
As Truly mine, at night and morrow.

III

*Love and Pride.*

How wondrous is thy might, oh, Love,
That makes this wondrous pride—
The pride of life, of world, of faith,
In wondrous colours dyed.
Oh! kill this pride of foolish man
Of what is seen and gone.
Oh! make him naked in thy breast
For ever and anon.

IV

*Love's Star*

Oh take me Love upon thy breast
And break this prison's bar.
The prison's not of stone and steel
But passion's endless war.
Night follows day and day the night
But heart's one changeless star
Of greed and fear. This darkness kiss
And smile, Thou Love's fixed star.
That kiss is joy, that kiss is life
That kiss of Love with love the strife.
Oh Love of thee if slave I be
I've gained o'er thee sweet victory.

V

*Love Expressed.*

Of purest gold no coin be made,
Alloy base touched must be;
No love born thought in act expressed
Of self-touch can be free.
O blessed be the dealer good
Confessing coins alloy
So blessed be the actor good,
Confessing self in joy.
Confession makes the vilest pure,
Confession is the one sole cure ;
Confession makes love's sweetness shine,
Confession shows pure love divine.

VI

*Unseen Helmsman.*

Oh man, be not thou thine own slave,
Nor sink life's boat for fear of wave.
Oh see, unseen the Helmsman true
See Faith and Love His faithful crew.
In peace let Him this life's boat steer
And think not He will moor it where.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI.

# Reviews

**The Gates of Doom. By E. J. Jenkinson. Stockwell, London. 1929.**

This is a sensational story on an Indian subject, chosen probably for a grotesque effect. The writer begins his story straightway with the tragedy of a murder, done by a mysterious agency, but the shrewdness of the police, British and Indian, succeeds in breaking through the ramifications of a time-honoured secret society and tracking the culprit who is thoroughly conversant with all the results of modern invention. There are hair-breadth escapes and adventures enough through the suburban trains of London, the aerodrome of Paris and among the hillmen of Indian frontiers,—in and through " The Gates of Doom."

The story is of crime, mystery and love, all combined—and the Scotland Yard, the Druidic fire and Mithraic rites, as well as the taste for ' pictures ' in modern English life, have all some part to play. The tangle is not too knotty, however, and the inevitable end is marriage and —let us hope—a happy life. Sultan Boss, a great big-game-hunter, becomes by sheer force of circumstances the subject of the piece, but he is a passive subject, the most active agent being Inspector West of the C.I D. whose blue eyes and ginger whisker imprint themselves upon the mind of the readers as he makes progress with the story. As we finish the book we feel that too much has been attempted to be packed in the novel, though the novelist has created by the magic of his description an atmosphere of weird and mysterious adventures.

The author had evidently been to India (as appears from the dedication) and so there are references to a Hindoo-Mahomedan riot of a communal nature, a bombing outrage in Northern Province, etc., for these would flavour the dish with contemporary interest. There are some reasons, however, to doubt the soundness of our author's knowledge of India. *Ayodhya* is described as the monkey city of India! *mala* and *Genesh* should be *mela* and *Ganesh* (p. 41) and the author has himself written *mela* on page 105: *Pushtu* is described (p. 58) as the language of some of the caravan-men near Ghorpal; this is extremely doubtful.

Worthy of more serious protest is the writer's attitude to India. ' The unusual circumstance of a new-comer (an Indian in a second class compartment of an Indian train) ignoring the existence of a European in the compartment-.....' this may be mildly commented upon as an example

of superiority complex. Professor Mukerjee is thus introduced—wearing a 'turban' and 'speaking English with that slight accent which few educated Indians can overcome' (p. 50), and the sample of his English conversation doled out to the reader is an odd jargon—about which the novelist becomes more out-spoken in his concluding lines (p. 126)—"Professor Mukerjee...wrote a long and involved letter in copperplate English." Again, "when magic fails and Brahmin priests fly from the peril of disease, there are certain friends of India who at such times of crisis show themselves in their true colours. They may cause affront to the Hindu mind by eating flesh, and by their European manner of life, but when real trouble comes upon the ignorant devotees of immoral deities, the saints of the Great Physician remain their only hope." (p. 100)

It is high time that such ultra-missionary misstatements should cease, were it even for simple decency's sake, if not for truth's.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**Ādhunikī**.—By Sri Nalinikanta Gupta. Modern Book Agency. 10, College Square, Calcutta. 1931. Re. 1.

This is a collection of nine essays in Bengali, previously contributed to some of the prominents periodical of the day, and mainly on modernism and its various aspects, now published in a handy form.

Modernism in literature has taken man to be primarily a beast, first, last and always; among the human instincts it has emphasised the Freudian *libido*, ignoring the others, and treated the erotic passion as if it is a disease, not an expression of full health; this constitutes its great difference with the past trend of love literature. The world of thought is now greatly influenced by the Russian literature which "gives out more heat than light, burns more than it heats,—pains more than it gives joy, inflames more than it pains,—has more bitterness than breadth, more complexity than bitterness, more of motion than of calm, more whirlwind than motion." The writer, Mr. Gupta, therefore, does not like this new literature and though he has profound respect for some of our artists who are making valuable contributions to Bengali literature, he would like to say by way of caution that this newest literature of the world is not of men nor of gods, but of beasts and demons, his remarks being confined to the province of art.

Another aspect of modernism is that it cannot take life naturally but always it tries to experiment with it, not to enjoy it. It does not want to live, so much as to see and know what life is. Modern art busies itself more with the brain than with the heart or even with the intelligence; for the working of the brain is of a lower order than intelligence, and

delights in a nervous attempt to get to the finality of things. Then, how amazing is the phenomenon of polarization which is so much to be seen in the world of a to-day! Like the swing of thought pendulum, we sway from cosmo politanism to provincialism, from Universal Religion to an individual faith, from an intense devotion to God to extreme negation of any unseen agency, from universal ideas to literary provincialism, and regionalism coming into greater prominence with the growth of a national or a cosmopolitan consciousness. The new change in outlook is moreover in the direction of what lies beyond, above, or below the normal consciousness, the modern thought sometimes losing itself in a craze for the abnormal. In the laboratory of the scientist and the library of the scholar, the appeal of to-day is to the uncommon rather than what is patent to the outward eye. Mystic ideas were in the past confined to the initiated few, but to-day we want to make these accessible to the people in general. There have been in the past attempts to transcend nature: now our aim is to dive below nature, and to cleanse the whole being by looking after its underground drainage, for that way lies salvation,—at least we of the modern times think so. Hence our emphasis to-day is on inspiration, not intuition, which feels more than it expresses, moves more than it informs. The modern or ultra-modern woman, approximating to the ideal of the male animal, in response, perhaps, to a silent demand by him, shocks and disgusts the writer for the grossness of the basis of that ideal which seldom rises above the physical plane, but Mr. Gupta has faith in the future and believes that out of the inevitable welter will grow a holier relation between man and woman, and he hails Baudelaire, in the concluding essay, as the poet who sought this relation among the most unfavourable materials,—the unfortunates,—and who sought the eternal in the hollow eyes and sunken cheeks of dying rakes, fastening his gaze of admiration on the beautiful flower which is now faded and repelling the cankerworm (which destroyed it) as if it had not existed.

From the above account of the contents it will be found that the book is of a thought-provoking nature, and of a fresh appeal as well, for we are all products of modernism, more or less. We believe therefore that every one will be benefited by going through it, and students and teachers in particular will feel stimulated by its study. Mr. Gupta's style is beautiful and strong and deserves special commendation in view of the abstruse nature of his subject, rather than subjects, for all the essays deal with some aspect or other of what we term by modernism. Both in point of style and in its treatment of a difficult subject the book is a distinct contribution to modern Bengali literature.

P. R. S.

**The Dawn of another Renaissance** and **the Ethico-Psychological Crux in Political Science and Art.**—By Bhagawan Dass, D.L., Theosophical publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India, 1931.

These pamphlets were issued in January and March last and cover cognate grounds. The contents of the first pamphlet (No. 145 )are as follows: Humanity sways now to individualism, now to socialism; it can never belong exclusively to either but the problem is one of preponderance. Just now the swing of the pendulum is towards collective humanity and people in all countries are looking forward to "another Renaissance." To bring about a *just and rational socialism*, we must work on the basis of economics which, again, is ultimately concerned with equitable social organisation and distribution of work. Thus we come to the province of politics and also to the question of supplying sufficient incentive to work. On this latter rock all communistic organisations have so far split: if there are equal shares, or in case of equal distribution of wealth, why should men be willing to work? The breakdown of the joint-family system is a poser. The want of an incentive to work is wholly psychological, and mere mechanical devices are bound to prove unsatisfactory. The best thing to make such collective movements a success is to provide for good and wise legislators.

The subject is further pursued in the second pamphlet (No. 147). In modern times, Western thought in political science and art is concerned with the problem of finding *good and wise* men and women for the legislatures. Phrases and passages are quoted from Ford's Representative Government (1925), indicting American, English and other legislatures, and references are also made to Prof. Hearnshaw, Bryce, Gettel, Miss Follet and other thinkers, including Bernard Shaw who has asserted that for the success of democracy there should be certain tests for our legislators and some incentive to persuade them to shoulder their heavy and unpleasant work. But no light is available from our modern thinkers regarding these tests and the incentive. The right solution may be had, however, in the *Manu Smriti*, the basis of Aryan socio-politico-religious polity and civilization, supported both by many Hindu sages of yore and by some modern writers and Parliamentary practice. The author details the result of his enquiries in this way: Legislators must not be very many in number, they must be tried men of approved public service, distinct from the executive and controlling it, must represent the various sciences, the main vocational sections of the people, the Society, the Social Organization. In the case of candidates for legislation, canvassing should not be permitted. The author of the pamphlets concludes, by combining Eastern with Western

thought, that honour, power, wealth, and amusement are the proper incentives for the legislature, the executive, the artisans and for men in general. These four prizes in life should act as incentives to noble deeds. But what is of primary importance, is that for the success of self-government we should remember that it is the government by the *higher* self that counts, and the people should be brought up to this idea.

This is just a bird's-eye view of the contents of the books, or rather Adyar pamphlets. From this it will be seen that they possess sufficient interest for us of to-day. The author whose scholarship is as well-known as his high outlook on life, is one of those who are not satisfied with a temporary, stop-gap remedy, but who try to effect a radical cure of the disease that humanity is heir to, and to effect it by means of an appeal to the higher nature of man ;.....to raise him and not to soil him in the process of working out his political salvation. On the parting of ways where we stand to-day, such suggestion and advice may do much by way of reclaiming us to the path of a higher idealism, and we welcome these timely publications which contain so much calm and serious thought.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**Ethical Principles in Theory and Practice** (An Essay in Moral Philosophy) by Hans Driesch, Ph.D. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 7*s*. 6*d*. net) is a volume on practical moral philosophy meant more for the statesman who " realizes a code " of moral teaching and helps " practical progress towards the good " and the teacher who " conveys ethical truth " or " spreads the code " than the ethical philosopher "who preaches a code and has an easier task," being a theoretical student of Ethics.

Formal definitions dealt with in existing modern systems of ethics are, therefore, " in this work a side-issue." This specific aim, the author thinks, justifies him in claiming that having reached the age of sixty and thus "experienced many of those human situations which form the subject of Ethics, he is entitled to write on Ethics, that is, make confessions calculated " to stimulate the reader to thought, and perhaps to contradiction."

Though a secondary place is assigned to theoretical ethics, the author has, however, a theory of his own which we shall endeavour to indicate. On the whole the writer's attitude to ethical problems and rules is thoroughly pragmatic, even though he is not an empiricist. Being decidedly anti-romantic, he holds that if " an end were made of romanticism the world would be the better for it."

The practical element of moral teaching being the chief concern of the book, it particularly justifies treatment of vital questions of the day, specially political or social questions which to-day take precedence over all others.

Such questions occupy the greater part of Ch. II dealing with the Doctrine of Duties—section 4 of which relates to duties towards groups under which the author discusses problems of penal code, social matters, education, the constitution, interrelations of States, war (which is condemned as something anti-ethical) and war-guilt, conscription, police, patriotism and its manifestations, the League of Nations, besides marriage and birth control.

The other divisions of the book refer to (1) Theoretical Ethics and Doctrine of Morals, and (2) The Problem of Ethics, constituting together the writer's Prolegomena (Ch. I), Enlightenment (genuine and false, Ch. III) and Religion as the Aim of Enlightenment (Ch. IV).

It is a challenging book and does, indeed, often provoke " contradiction." Its metaphysical basis is intuitional—only at one place it asserts that " reason which at the same time is morality must be supreme."

Determinism here jostles with freedom but the author is singularly free from dogmatism. He adequately recognises that there is necessarily a " lack of certainty in the doctrine of practical morals " as distinguished, say, from the science of geometry. His views, again, regarding birth-control are—" In my opinion it may be possible to apologize for, but not to justify, the sexual act where propagation is prevented. * * * Now if the (sexual) impulse hinders the free development (of man's supreme spiritual gifts), then he may satisfy it, even though propagation is prevented." There can be " no objection " to birth-control by self-restraint. Both eugenic and numerical birth-control are here taken into account. " Ethical approval ought," he thinks, " to be given to qualitative selection of births."

One serious consequence of this intellectual openness is, however, an over-emphasis on the element of uncertainty or lack of certainty in the doctrine of morals already referred to. Greater value is attached by Dr. Driesch to the power of effective activity than to abstinence and ascetic practices are rejected if they imply harm to this power. The reason advanced is that for each individual the rule is—" my life and my spiritual and bodily efficiency and development ought to be." Similarly war, he holds, might be excusable in cretain circumstances; so also euthanasia and killing for self-defence, but capital punishment never. Corporal punishment is condemned as contrary to the dignity of man and also because it tends to foster the Inferiority Complex. Regarding property

(earned by a man with the labour of his mind or body) the author is anti-communistic but "discovered property," such as water, air, coal and ores, ought, according to him, to belong to the community. "Property in land cannot pass by gift or inheritance." Lending of money against interest is permissible only under certain circumstances.

As for the (empirical) State, "conscience comes before obedience," that is, "private" ethics should have preference over "state" ethics.

Kant's categorical imperative as a universal law thus assumes with Dr. Driesch the form of the universal yet indefinite injunction—"Act in such a way that you can believe that your action is promoting a future state of mankind accepted by you and approved in its nature, which state is perhaps the goal of a supra-personal evolution."

"Moral doctrine,' he thinks, "can be formulated as a system of injunctions alternatively with or without freedom; only in the latter case it is an illusion for those who scrutinise ultimate causes."

Ethical institution is not only subjective but practically made here a question of the unconscious, in so far as the author calls it "a kind of instinct" (using the term in its more definite and narrower biological sense). "In the form of my personal intuition," says he, "my soul has the power of apprehending that which *ought to be*" (p. 83). And "the first aim of ethics is merely to apprehend clearly what must be the nature of the will and action of souls, both of my own and of those of others, in order that I shall be able to say of them—'It ought to be so' (p. 206). "The souls are capable of effective action" but, according to his doctrine "the conscious ego cannot bring about any change, the reason being that the ego is not an active entity."

Genuine enlightenment is described as "an education towards rationalism (the irrational being taken to mean that which is beyond the scope of knowledge), by which, of course, I mean genuine rationalism"—a rationalism which "apprehends the essential forms of the world in their totality, and in doing so apprehends its own limits."

"Considered attempt" must be made "to realize uncompromisingly that which Enlightenment has shown to be good" and "religious Enlightenment is the highest form of Enlightenment."

Finally, he holds that "a true justification for ethical intuition can be based on one foundation only, namely, a metaphysics of spirit which in some form implies immortality." "Bare ethics of a neo-Kantian or neo-Protestant character are an insufficient substitute for the religious spirit." The volume closes on the simple injunction—"Resolve to accept Reason."

J. G. B.

**Social Control of Sex Expression** by Geoffrey May (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 12*s*. 6*d*. net) is fundamentally "a study of the control exercised by Anglo-American law over voluntary sex expression and in effect a study of the law of marriage, of the forces which have moulded that law." The English law of sexual morality had largely to deal with difficulties of formulating and administering rules prohibiting extra-marital sex expression. Gradually the Church became the exclusive authority over the family including sexual morality but latterly its hold began to relax. In tracing this history the author's aim is to "throw some light on the relation and non-relation of law and social restraint."

The book is therefore divided into three broad sections of (1) the Doctrine of Sex Expression among primitive peoples, the ancient Hebrews and the early Christians, (2) The Doctrine in English Law including jurisdiction ecclesiastical and temporal and administration in practice and (3) The Doctrine in Anglo-American Law.

It is a thoroughly exhaustive study most carefully documented, the first three chapters of which contain a highly interesting account of the history of sex relation and the growth of the idea of sex purity. The writer attempts to establish that though ante-nuptial chastity was emphasized by most of the savage and barbarous peoples as an ideal and attempted to be realized in practice, it proceeded more from sociological and economic wants than lofty idealism. The father's property-right over the unmarried daughter and its transference to the husband after marriage had much to do with the imposition of restraint on free sexual gratification or even promiscuous sexual intimacy. Chastity had also an equally strong foundation in the "contamination" basis, sexual irregularities having been in all cases considered as dangerous to not only the parties immediately concerned but the entire community, nay, even to the earth of which the fertility was damaged by illicit intercourse of men and women, and to the crops and domestic animals. Thus disaster resulting from acts of incontinence was believed to spread from the person to the community and from society to religion. The ethical concept of chastity as a virtue, specially in the case of the male sex, was the result of a very slow process of evolution. "Ancient Hebrew continence," the writer attempts to prove, "rested on the property basis and the contamination basis" and in his opinion the Hebrew laws guarded the chastity of females with a severity bordering on cruelty. Greater precautions were, again, taken in the case of the priestly classes and later on of the clergy. Sexual practice was in early stages of evolution closely connected with tribal righteousness and even religious ritual. The writer has elaborately

dealt with the question of unnatural or forbidden sex expression in its relation with heresy and the practice of ritual prostitution. His conclusion is that " the Hebrews of the Biblical times looked upon sexual morality in its social and religious implications only, not in its purely ethical" and that "chastity in Palestine, among men at least, was the exception rather than the rule." Without attempting to settle the vexed question as to whether Essenism had any direct influence on Christianity, he suggests, however, that the Christian doctrines of sex were profoundly affected by the spiritual practices of the Essenes. "The hatred of women and denial of pleasure," he concludes, "are the two pillars of asceticism." " The virtues," he further adds, "lauded by Gospel teachings were love and charity. The virtues lauded by Patristic teachings were chastity and abstinence." Within a period of four centiures Christianity had changed its attitude of emotional expression to an attitude of emotional suppression." The history of this change is traced in Ch. III of the book. The New Testament doctrine of sex morals owes itself not so much to Jesus as to Paul who gave no undue ethical prominence to celibacy. Two Oriental cults—Persian Manichaeism and Alexandrian Neoplatonism—had a considerable influence on the Christian doctrines of sex, with the consequence that all passion became condemned as degrading to the soul and a sort of non-Scriptural doctrine of asceticism slowly developed in the early Church. The wide-spread poison of sexual impurity in the imperial Roman world favoured specially this development and persecution of Christians added a fresh impetus to retirement from the world into remote solitudes of the desert or of the life contemplative. Here the writer traces the psychological relation between Christian asceticism and the alleged evil of sex and shows how the action of sex and religion may be reciprocal, sex being associated with the fall of man. Monogamous marriage at least became the only recognised form of relation between the sexes. Extreme doctrines of asceticism led to physical mutilation and to epidemics of avowed continence and Platonic unions." The legal aspect of the whole problem of sex expression is more elaborately dealt with in the book under review, 170 out of a total of 217 pages being devoted to it. We cannot undertake to even offer a summary of this historical account.

Two important conclusions are drawn by the author from his careful study of the law of sexual morality. " The one is, that the methods of legal control of sex expression have varied widely throughout Anglo-American history. The other is, that the attitude behind the law, the doctrine of sextual morality itself, has varied not at all." But the

entire history of this legal control indicates its supreme difficulties and deplorable failures. Inspite of these drawbacks the law has always sought to maintain the doctrine of chastity lest society should materially suffer and lose its potential strength. This idea, the author maintains, finds support from vital statistics. "Parents who indulge in extra-marital sexual activity show lesser fecundity than married parents, and their offspring are less likely to survive infancy." Relevant figures are next quoted from the Registrar-General's Tables for 1927, in this connection, of a somewhat convincing character but the readers are reminded that "these statistics are related to time and place," and that the very custom and law prevailing in Christian countries in which the Christian doctrine of sex morals is bedded itself "may create the conditions on which the statistics are founded." These conditions may change and are slowly changing.

J. G. B.

"**The Life of Vivekananda and the Universal Gospel**"—by Romain Rolland, translated from the original French by E. F. Malcolm-Smith, M.A. Ph.D., (Cantab.), and published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, 1931, is a companion volume to "The Life of Ramakrishna," by the same author, explained in their sub-title as "A study of Mysticism and Action in Living India." The publisher's prefatory note admonishes us that "the views and interpretations given in it are not all of them necessarily those of the Ramkrishna Order." Swami Ashokananda, late editor of the Order's organ, *Prabuddha Bhârata*, has issued, from Mayavati, a pamphlet, by way of protest against M. Rolland's views regarding Western indebtedness to Indian Vedanta expressed in Part II, Ch. IV, under the title of "The Influence of Indian thought on the thought of the West." In this connection we too may observe that the book contains several statements with which we are not in agreement. It is yet a welcome addition to the existing studies of the life and work of Swami Vivekananda which, with a few exceptions, have been approached from the Indian point of view, though some of them are notable achievements. The book before us has a unique value of its own. Inspite of the writer's incredible power of entering into the very spirit of Indian culture and civilisation the Western angle of vision is always in evidence. With all his fervent sympathy with Catholic mysticism in its kinship with that of the Orient, the author maintains the Westerner's scientific spirit of investigation of subtle religious phenomena with acute analysis and he tests the results of the highest spiritual discipline of the Hindu system of thought

from a practical point of view. This is clear, for instance, from his over-emphasis on the Swami's insistence on *work* (at pp. 228-233 in the chapter on *Karma Yoga*) and on *rational* freedom (in the chapter on *Raja Yoga*). The scientific and rational mind of the Swami is distinctly perceived by this biographer who describes himself as " an idealistic free-thinker who naturally unites scientific specticism to spiritual faith." Yet he wonderfully succeeds in correctly catching the very spirit of our Indian mode of thinking and realising. By way of illustration we may refer to the author's interpretation of the Swami's ideal of love. " To love with him," says M. Rolland, " meant to love actively, to serve, to help;" whereas, " usually in European thought " to serve " implies a feeling of voluntary debasement, of humility " with the Swami " to serve, to love, is to be equal of the one served or loved. Far from abasement, Vivekananda always regarded it as the fullness of life." " Love still implies the Force. At the basis of everything then is Force, Divine Force." And in a foot-note (to page 322) is added—" This fearlessness in great Indian belief with regard to God must never be forgotten. The West, which likes to represent the East as passive, is infinitely more so in its dealings with the Divinity. If, as an Indian Vedantist believes, God is in me, why should I accept the indignities of the world?" Again, speaking of the Ramkrishna Mission as conceived by the Swami he says—" The day seemed to have dawned for the " Great India of old to resume its ancient mission: that of evangelising the earth. But unlike ' God's chosen peoples ' in the past, who have interpreted their duty in the narrow sense of spiritual imperialism, implying the right to inflict their own uniform and tight-fitting casque, the Vedântist missionary according to his own law respects the natural faith of each individual." He tries to show how " in the most significant happenings in India during the last twenty years " the knot was tied between religious contemplation and service of the lower orders. " The world to-day stands face to face with an awakening India of which the magic watchword is Unity." " Asia and Europe, the two giants, are standing face to face as equals for the first time. If they are wise they will work together, and the fruit of their labours will be for all." " This greater India," this new India is impregnated with the soul of Ramkrishna. The twin star of the Paramhamsa and the hero who translated his thought into action, dominates and guides her present destinies.* * * The present leaders of India: the king of thinkers, the king of poets and the Mahâtmâ—Aurabindo Ghose, Tagore and Gandhi—have grown, flowered and borne fruit under the double constellation of the Swan and the Eagle—a fact publicly acknowledged by Aurobindo and Gandhi."

"In India religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of national life."

Observations like these indicate the author's catholicity, prophetic vision and practical wisdom alike. Even the author's style is steeped in distinctly Indian imagery. In speaking of the Swami's return to India from the West crowned with the laurels of marvellous achievements, the author writes—"He replied to the frenzied expectancy of the people by his Message to India, a conch sounding the resurrection of the land of Râma, of Shiva, of Krishna, and calling the heroic Spirit, the immortal Atman, to march to war." Again, while referring to the difference between Rammohan Roy and his disciples on the one hand and Ramkrishna and Vivekananda on the other regarding multiple gods and all forms of the religious spirit from the lowest to the highest the author says—"In their eyes this was a mental retrogression. But in mine it is a step in advance, a mighty Hanumân-leap over the strait separating the continents."

Documents serving as sources of available materials needful for a correct appreciation of the Swami and his work, are conscientiously used and wonderful mastery is shown in handling the materials so rich and varied. The volume is necessarily very rich in details, yet the writer has done us real service by focussing the reader's attention on salient and significant features of a very complex personality and a many-sided life extraordinarily full of ceaseless energising and varied activities. Vivekananda, the fiery soul, the man of religious vision, of severe discipline, of contemplation and action, of infinite energy and indomitable will, the great Master's anointed disciple, the greatest bearer of India's message to the West, the indefatigable worker for the all-round uplift of the voiceless masses of India, the wonderful organiser and famous founder of a new Order of Sannyasins and a new Mission of social service, is once more made to stand out as a colossus before us in a clear and bold outline and a proper perspective. We are made to see, admire and love the man in all his greatness in and through his thought and action. Here we can successfully follow the stages of his growth step by step through the inner working of a giant spirit perfecting itself by intense *Sadhana* and seeking self-expression in service to humanity, thereby fulfilling the aim of an ideal life in a double way—of personal self-realisation and promotion of it in others, which is in perfect accord with the ancient Vedic ideal of the path of true righteousness.

The author attempts scrupulously to fulfil the functions of an honest biographer and is full of ungrudging admiration but is seldom led away by

it. There is sincere hero-worship but no trace of a debasing uncritical self-surrender. Systematic effort is made throughout to keep an intellectual balance. This attitude is well illustrated in the observations made in the four systems of *Yoga* (especially of *Raja Yoga*). The author is not here and there without doubts but, as he explains—" My doubt is scientific. It does not deny. It waits for the proof of facts."

Two things are particularly striking in the writer—his wonderful power of exposition (for which we may refer the reader to pp. 89, 123, 167, 228-29, 278-87, 290-97 and 336-43) and his precise grasp of complex situations, subjects or problems (as exemplified in pp. 90, 92, 95, 99, 102, 109, 117, 122, 136-37, 150, 199-200, 264-66 and 350). We shall make one quotation by way of an example. " Before going further let us rid ourselves of the equivocation, inherent in the very name of Mâyâ for even the most learned men of the West, and see how she is conceived by the intellectual Vedântism of the present day ; for as it stands it raises a fictitious barrier between us. We are wrong to think of it as total illusion, pure hallucination, vain smoke without a fire : for it is this idea that makes us hold the derogatory opinion that the East is incapable of facing the reality of life, and sees in it nothing but the stuff that dreams are made of,—a conception that leads it to float through life, half asleep, motiveless and supine, eyes fixed on the blue depths, like webs of wandering spiders floating in the autumn breeze " (pp. 205-6).

Highly condensed comments aptly made in interpreting the views of the Swami occasionally enhance the value and beauty of the book, as, for instance, on Vivekananda's Madras discourses in 1894 (at pp. 130-33).

The writer's aim is well indicated in the passage (p. 202) quoted below :—

" I shall try to show how closely allied is the aspect of Vivekananda's thought to our own, with our special needs, torments, aspirations and doubts, urging us ever forward, like a blind mole, by instinct upon the road leading to the light. Naturally I hope to be able to make other Westerners, who resemble me, feel the attraction that I feel for this elder brother, the son of the Ganges, who of all modern men achieved the highest equilibrium between the diverse forces of thought, and was one of the first to sign a treaty of peace between the two forces eternally working within us : the forces of reason and faith."

Personal intimacies charmingly introduced here and there (*e.g.*, pp. 203, 259 footnote 2, 266, 295-96 and 335) into this sympathetic interpretation of a rich personality lend a human touch irresistible in its power of at once establishing a close kinship between the East and the West.

The fundamental principles underlying Vivekananda's teachings, as brought out by the author, may be thus summarized:—

The Swami's conception of religion was all-embracing: religion must be universal. The need of the present age was to harmonize the so-called materialistic sciences with religion. He claimed the Indian Advaita as the rationalistic type of religion specially needed for the salvation of Europe. But universalism should not imply a dead level of uniformity, for religious expressions must have an immense variety. His principle was not one of mere toleration but of acceptance and his profound conviction was that "man never progresses from error to truth but from truth to truth, from lesser truth to higher truth." He was ever actuated by deep respect for human individuality and its freedom which formed the essence of his religion. Finally, his great constructive genius may be summed up in two words—"equilibrium" and "synthesis." The conclusion reached is that "Vivekananda held the reins of the four paths of truth, love, action and energy, as in a quadriga and travelled simultaneously along them towards Unity."

The book is divided into two parts—the first part consisting of ten chapters is mainly biographical and the second of five chapters including the Conclusion relates to the universal gospel. Pt. II, Ch. I, is chiefly on Maya and attempts to give a summary of Vedantic thought as it has been explained through the mouth of Vivekananda. Ch. II is a study of the Indian psycho-physiological disciplines called Yogas, having a spiritual aim, in relation to Western mysticism. Ch. III presents Vivekananda's Universal Science-Religion. Ch. IV is on the Order established at Belur Math and the last chapter utters a strong word of warning and caution. There are three Appendices, the last of which (Note III) covering 37 pages of closely printed solid matter is a learned dissertation on Mysticism.

The footnotes, which are very extensive, furnish highly interesting information, give references to authorities, add details, and sometimes make illuminating comments. The Publisher's footnotes, representing the standpoint and views of the Ramkrishna Order add to, modify or correct the author's account or interpretation.

The book contains also a dozen beautiful photos, six of which represent Vivekananda at different periods of his life. In *format*, beautiful print and fine paper this volume will surely be all book-lovers' delight to possess.

J. G. B.

**History of Sanskrit Literature.**—By A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L , D.Lit., Bar. at-Law, University of Edinburgh, Royal 8vo. pp. 575 and XXXVI. Oxford Clarendon Press.

This book by so eminent and versatile a scholar as Dr. Keith is a welcome addition to the histories of Sanskrit literature already possessed by us. Various well-known Orientalists have attempted to give us a survey of the history of Sanskrit literature, prominent among them being the late Drs. Weber, Oldenburg, Macdonell and Winternitz who delivered his lectures on the history of Sanskrit Literature at the Calcutta University. Prof. Keith comes after these writers and in this volume makes a comprehensive survey of Classical Sanskrit literature. The first chapter of the book is very rightly devoted to a discussion of the origin of Sanskrit, the extent of its use, its relation to the Prakrits and the history of the Apabhraṃsas. This is followed by Part II where the author discourses on almost all the different branches of Sanskrit literature, namely, *Belles lettres* and Poetics, with different chapters on the great poets, the lesser epic poets, Historical Kavya, Lyric, gnomic and didactic poetry, the Didactic fable, the great romances and the Campus. The concluding chapters of Part II are devoted to a discussion of the aims and achievements of Sanskrit poetry, Indian literature in the eyes of the West and the theories of poetry. Part III is devoted to the history of Scientific literature and the author touches upon the subject of Lexicography, metres, grammar, civil and religious law, the science of politics, erotics, philosophy and religion as well as medicine, Astronomy and Mathematics. In fact, there is hardly any topic on which books were written in Sanskrit, which has not been touched by the author and of which a summary is not given.

The book as a whole is written in such a way as to do justice to the author's reputation. Not only a mine of information is furnished in these pages to the student, but we have learned discussions on important topics, like the relation of Sanskrit and the Prakrits, the nature of Apavraṃsas, the rise of the different schools of poetics, as well as the dates of important authors like Pāṇini, Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidasa and Kauṭilya. In course of these discussions, the author tries to give us the most up-to-date information and embodies very often the views of the most recent contributors, European and Indian. In controversial matters, the author seems to proceed very cautiously, leaving little room for a hostile critic to assail him easily.

While these speak highly of the merit of the volume under review, there are shortcomings and faults to which we draw the attention of the writer. First of all, although the volume as a whole is brilliantly written, the chapters on technical subjects like Indian mathematics, medicine or

astronomy seem rather sketchy and have not received the amount of attention they deserve. Next, in some places, the author has not given a requisite amount of attention to certain views, when they differ widely from those of his own. The are not very numerous but we are pained to find in some cases the summary rejection of certain views and the use of expressions which lead the reader to think but lightly of the rival views. The author may have his grounds for upholding certain views or he may have his own bias, but in all fairness, the rival view ought to receive a considerate treatment before its rejection after an enquiry into its merit.

Instances of such bias or summary rejection are prominent in connection with the discussion of the dates of authors or books. This is evident in the case of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and the Kauṭilya, to cite a few examples. Pāṇini is placed in the middle of the 4th Century B.C. in a summary way though the learned author sees enough arguments to reject the view of Levi that "Pāṇini wrote after Alexander's invasion." Similarly, the author thinks it wise to place the date of the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra as far down as the third or second century B.C. In the case of the Arthaśāstra, its traditional date is rejected in consideration of the well-known objection of Jolly and Stein and more specially in view of the discrepancies between it and the fragment of Megasthenes, who seems to enjoy an exclusive patent for veracity in spite of the fact that his original book is lost and that the fragments attributed to him contain silly stories and inventions.

In this connection it is rather lamentable that the views of eminent writers like Mr. Jayaswal or Dr. Law are merely brushed aside with the remark that 'credo quia impossibile' is not obsolete !

Lastly, it is to be noted that in the large number of verses quoted, words or expressions have been given free translations and these are numerous. To cite a few intstances, in p. 179 *kāmarasika* is translated 'lovesick youth' and *vyasana* has been translated love, instead of passion. On page 180, Pārśva should have been connected with *Vidagdhapariṣat*. In the same page, *candrabimbānanāh* ought to have been rendered by 'with faces like the disc of the moon.' On page 180, *padmāsana* and on p. 184 *kathamapi* have not been translated at all. On p. 234 *mṛtkaṇa* is not lime, but a particle of earth.

Minor errors have also crept in a few places. Thus Dhoyī is spelt Dhoi (pp. 53 and 190.) On page 95 (ll. 24-28) Dilīpa is substituted for Daśaratha. Visvanātha's Sahitya Darpana is mentioned as written in sūtra. On p. 179 in the five verse, the word *parimitam* has been dropped while in p. 235 we have the expression *kāco-kāco* in place of *kācaḥ kāco*.

These however do mot make us blind to the really good features of the book which are numerous and we thank the writer for his industry and thoroughness.

N. C. BANERJEE

# Ourselves

## The Late Mr. H. M. Percival.

It is with deep personal grief that we record the sudden death in London on the 15th of November, 1931, at the age of sixty-six, of Mr. H. M. Percival who served with pre-eminent success as Professor of English Literature at the Presidency College, Calcutta, from 19th January, 1880 to 12th April, 1911.

With the sad death of Mr. Percival has passed away a profound scholar, a renowned professor, an ideal teacher and a man of sterling character.

Two genarations of youngmen who now occupy highly eminent places in various walks of life have been inspired by his teaching and by the noble example of his life consecrated to learning. Even to-day we have a vivid recollection of the impression of his wonderful lectures produced on us and of the loving regard in which we all held our revered and beloved professor, to come into close contact with whom was considered a real privilege in life.

In 1885 he became a Fellow of the Calcutta University and rendered valuable service as a member of the Boards of Studies in English, Greek, Latin and History. On retirement from service he made a gift of his splendid library to the Punjab University on the 13th of March, 1911, which was accepted with appropriate acknowledgment.

The Late Mr. Percival was born on the 25th January, 1855, at Chittagong (Bengal), and received his early education there at Rev. Taunton's School for Christian children and at the Zilla School. He passed his First Examination in Arts from the Dacca College and joined in 1871 the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a holder of a First-grade Senior Scholarship. Having won by competitive examination the Gilchrist scholarship of 1873, he entered the University College, London, where he obtained

Honours in Latin and English in the B.A. Examination for 1876 and in Classics and French in the B.A. Examination for 1877, and the M.A. degree in Classics in 1879 taking the second place in a " severe examination with a high standard." He also attended the full course of lectures in English delivered by Henry Morley and lectures on Mental Philosophy and Logic by Professor Croom Robertson, and at Edinburgh the senior Greek class of Professor Blackie who praised him for " sound scholarship and steady habits of intellectual application," and the Advanced Latin class of Professor Sellar who considered him to be " an advanced and accomplished scholar." In the opinion of Sir Alexander Grant Mr. Percival was " a classical scholar of no mean order " and Dr. Carpenter held him to be a man " of high literary culture and of high principle."

By temperament and habit Mr. Percival was essentially a scholar in the highest sense of the word and lived all his days in a serene atmosphere of scholarly pursuits and as such appeared to many to be full of reserve. He quietly entertained, however, sincere and tender feelings of love for his pupils as will be evident from a few significant extracts we give here from some of his numerous letters from London to one of his beloved pupils in Calcutta.

" It is years now since I last wrote to you or heard from you; but during them I have thought—and thought often, as I now reckon up—of those I knew at the College: not with the same feeling for all without distinction, but with different degrees, but all degrees having some one thing in common;—and that common point is kindliness: for time does, as it should, make us forget and remember, both, on the *right* side. * * * You will readily believe what I have said above about my not having forgotten the College and those in it, but you will be taken aback a little to be told that I have *often* dreamt of them:—as, going to lecture, not finding my books, not finding my way to the lecture room and so on. You may laugh at this—there is no harm if you do." (Letter of 21st July, 1926.)

In connection with his excellent annotated edition of Shakespeare's plays, appropriately called "The India Shakespeare Series," he touchingly observed—"I should like to give these editions of plays, as I can only give them *now*, as my last lectures to invisible classes, and to the memory of those visible classes, whose faces I could see when I talked to them; and I wish this to be a gift, as far it is in my power to confer it." (Letter of 10th August, 1926.)

We make these few quotations because it is not generally realised how genuine and profound was his love for India and Indians. It is a matter of regret that the Departmental recognition of his solid work and his rare merit was unfortunately not adequate to his high worth. "To do my work," he wrote on the 14th of October, 1930, in a letter, "in the best way I could was in *my* power; to have that work recognised by others was in *their* power not in mine. Therefore, whether this recognition came or did not come was no business of mine."

This is a noble utterance worthy of the man whom we all revere with the deepest respect and whose sacred memory will remain enshrined in our hearts so full of loving gratitude. May his soul rest in eternal peace!

* * *

## The Late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri

Another severe loss sustained by the country—and the scholarly world in particular—is due to the death at the fairly ripe age of 73 of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.A.S.B., at his Calcutta residence on the 17th of November, 1931.

The Mahamahopadhyaya was a great Sanskrit scholar and a renowned Orientalist, famous as an authority on Buddhist literature and Indology. For a number of years he was the President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (The Bengal Academy of Letters) in which capacity he rendered invaluable service to

Bengali literature by his numerous contributions. He was duly honoured by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland with an honorary membership in recognition of his signal services.

After having served in various capacities—specially as Professor of Sanskrit at the Lucknow Canning College, Sanskrit College and Presidency College, Calcutta, and Librarian of the Bengal Library—he was appointed to the responsible post of Principal, Sanskrit College, and Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal, in 1900. He also served with signal success as a member of the Text Book Committee for a dozen years and as a Fellow of the University of Calcutta since 1888, being attached to the Board of Studies in Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages and History. After his retirement from Government service in 1908 he was made Dean of the Faculty of Sanskrit in the newly created University of Dacca.

In the course of an extensive tour with Professor Macdonell of Oxford in Northern India he succeeded in collecting a large number of very valuable and rare Vedic MSS. for the Oxford Max Müller Memorial. He also rendered immense service to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Archaeological Department of the Government of India by his magnificent collection of MSS. from Nepal and other places.

We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family of the late Mahamahopadhyaya.

* * *

## A New Ph.D.

Mr: Nalinikanta Brahma, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on the "Philosophy of Hindu Sadhana."

* * *

## The Jagattarini Gold Medal for 1931

The Jagattarini Gold medal for the year 1931 has been awarded to Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.

* * *

## The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for 1930

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the year 1930 has been divided equally among the following four candidates on the usual conditions :—

| *Name of Candidates.* | *Name of Thesis.* |
|---|---|
| 1. Mr. Umaprasanna Basu, M.Sc. | (1) Keto-Methylene Condensation.<br>(2) Synthesis of Coumarine Derivatives.<br>(3) Action of Aromatic Ammes on B. Ketonis Esters. |
| 2. Dr. Sahayram Bose, M.A., Ph.D. | Search for Golgi Bodies in the Higher Fungi with one plate. |
| 3. Mr. Sureschandra Sen | Studies in Meteorology, Parts I & II. |
| 4. Mr. Debiprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc. | Theory of Magnetism. |

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